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MEMOIRS

OF THE

House of Brandenburg.



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CONTAINING,

The HISTORY of that FAMILY, from the Death of FREDERICK III. the First King of PRUSSIA, to the Death of FREDERICK WILLIAM, the present KING's FATHER.

To which are added,

TWO DISSERTATIONS,

- I. On the Military State of BRANDENBURG, from its first Establishment to the Death of the late KING.
- II. On the Ancient and Modern Government of BRANDENBURG.

By his PRUSSIAN MAJESTY.

VOL. II.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NOURSE, Bookseller to his MAJESTY.

MDCCLXVIII.



P R E F A C E.

THE following work is a continuation of the Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, by the same hand as the former part, that great hero of the North, the magnanimous king of Prussia. . In the first edition, the royal historian concluded his performance at the death of his grandfather, Frederic III. the first king of Prussia. The continuation comprehends the remainder of the history to the death of Frederick-William, the second king of Prussia, and father to his present majesty. In the last magnificent

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nificent edition, published at Berlin in 1767, the illustrious author made several additions to the first part of his work, and to the whole subjoined two entire new discourses ; one, on the military state of Brandenburg, from its first establishment to the end of the reign of Frederick William, the late king ; the other, on the ancient and modern government of that country. These have been all faithfully translated into English from the last Berlin edition, and are now presented to the public, together with the additions incorporated in the first volume. Thus the History of the House of Brandenburg appears at length with proper dignity, having received the last and finishing hand from the Royal Author.

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P R E F A C E.

IT has been thought proper to decorate this volume with three eulogiums, or funeral orations, written by the same masterly hand : the first on his beloved preceptor, M. Jordan; the second on his favourite general, baron Goltze; and the third on that incomparable prince, his nephew, prince Henry, who was lately snatched away in the bloom of youth, to the inexpressible grief of the royal family : these being the genuine productions of his Prussian majesty, and intimately connected with the History of his illustrious house, will, it is to be hoped, prove acceptable to the English reader. The translator has endeavoured to do justice to the original; and shall think himself happy if his endeavours happen to meet with the approbation of the

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P R E F A C E.

public. The character of the work itself is too well established to court applause: the author's name alone is a sufficient elogium; an author to whom may be justly applied that elegant expression of Quintilian with regard to Cæsar, *Eodem animo scripsit quo bellavit.*



MEMOIRS

OF THE

House of Brandenburg.

FREDERIC-WILLIAM,

The Second King of PRUSSIA.

FREDERIC-WILLIAM was born at Berlin, as we have already taken notice, the 15th of August, 1688. His father was Frederic I. king of Prussia; his mother, Sophia-Charlotte, princess of Hanover. He ascended the throne on the 28th of February, 1713, under the favourable auspices of the

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peace

peace of Utrecht between France, Spain, England, Holland, and most of the princes of Germany. Frederic-William obtained, that Lewis XIV. should acknowledge his royalty, and his sovereignty of the principality of Neuchatel, and guarantee to him the countries of Gueldres and Kessel; by way of indemnification for the principality of Orange, which he renounced for himself and his descendants. France and Spain granted him, at the same time, the title of Majesty, which they still refused to the kings of Denmark, and Sardinia.

At the return of peace, the king applied himself entirely to the interior administration of his territories. He exerted himself to regulate his finances, the police, the courts of justice, and the army; departments which had been equally neglected under the preceding reign. He enjoyed an active mind in a vigorous body. There never lived a man so capable of entering into every branch of business: but then, if he stooped to little things, it was from a persuasion, that great things are only the combination of many little ones. He referred his undertaking to one general plan of policy,

licy, which he had formed to himself; and, in labouring to bring every part to the utmost perfection of, he only aimed to perfect the whole.

HE abolished all useless expences, and stopped those canals of profusion, thro' which his father had misapplied the resources furnished him by the prosperity of his subjects, to vain and idle purposes. The court was the first to feel the effects of this reformation. He retained but a few persons essential to his dignity, or useful to the state: of one hundred chamberlains, in the service of his father, he kept but twelve: the rest took to the army or the cabinet. He reduced his private expences to a very moderate sum, saying that a prince ought to be sparing of the blood and substance of his subjects. In this respect, he might well be considered as a philosopher on the throne, and quite the reverse of those great scholars, who make all their barren knowledge consist in the speculation of such abstract matters as seem to elude our enquiries: he himself gave examples of a frugality and austerity worthy of the earliest periods of the Roman republic. — Averse

to pomp and parade, and all the imperious trappings of royalty, he, with a virtue which might do honour to a Stoick, denied himself the most common conveniencies of life. Thus his great simplicity of manners and frugality formed a perfect contrast with the haughtiness and profusion of Frederic I.

THE political ends of this prince in his interior arrangements, were to render himself respectable to his neighbours, by keeping up a numerous army. He had learned, from the example of George-William, how dangerous it is for a prince not to be always in a condition to defend himself; and from that of Frederic I. whose troops were ever more at the direction of the princes who paid them than at his own, that a sovereign is only respected in proportion as he can render himself formidable by his intrinsic power. Tired with the humiliations which Frederic I. often suffered, sometimes from the Swedes, and sometimes from the Russians, who made, with impunity, a thoroughfare of his dominions, he resolved to screen his subjects effectually from the bad consequences of any future quar-

quarrels amongst his neighbours; and, at the same time, enable himself to support his claims on the succession of Bergue, now on the point of becoming the bone of contention, by the daily expected death of the Elector Palatine, the last prince of the house of Neubourg. The public seem to think, that the prospect of a military government was not of the king's own forming, but that it had been suggested to him by the prince of Anhalt; for my part, I am far from adopting this opinion, because I know it to be false; and that a mind so superior as that of Frederic-William could not but penetrate and comprehend the vastest objects; and judge better of the true interest of his dominions, than any of his ministers or generals.

SUPPOSING it lawful to consider the greatest schemes as the children of mere chance, we may safely affirm, that some English officers put Frederic-William upon forming those plans, which he afterwards carried into execution. This prince, in his youth, served in Flanders; and, during the siege of Tournay, at which he was present, happened

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to fall in with two English generals, engaged in a warm debate: one of them maintained, that the king of Prussia would find it a difficult matter to maintain fifteen thousand men without foreign subsidies; the other, that he could maintain twenty. The young prince, all on fire, put an end to the dispute by saying, "The king my father may maintain thirty thousand, if he pleases." The Englishmen considered these words as the folly of an ambitious young man, fond of exaggerating the advantages of his country: but Frederic-William, when king, proved he was even better than his word; for by a proper administration of his finances he contrived, the very first year of his reign, to maintain fifty thousand men, without any foreign subsidies.

THE peace of Utrecht, which had, in a great measure, laid the storm with which the western parts of Europe had been agitated, could not prevent the war from continuing in the North, between Charles XII. who still continued a prisoner at Adrianople, and the Czar, king Augustus, and Frederic IV.
king

king of Denmark, who had formed a league against him.

FREDERIC-WILLIAM resolved not to intermeddle in the troubles of the North; but, like his father, observed a strict neutrality. The advantageous situation of his territories, the number of his troops, and the great need in which the several belligerent parties stood of such an ally, caused his assistance to be courted by all of them. He could not but foresee, that the return of this war, and the vicinity of the scene of action, would sooner or later oblige him to become a party in it: but he lost nothing by waiting; and, perhaps, he was for seeing which way the scales would turn, before he entered into engagements, from which it would be impossible for him afterwards to recede.

THAT fatality, called chance or hazard by the vulgar, and predestination by the divines, but which the wise attribute to the want of foresight in mankind; that fatality, I say, still obstinately persisted in persecuting Charles XII. While this prince was losing his time in cabal-

ling at Constantinople against the Czar, his general Steinbock, who had treated the wretched inhabitants of Altena with unheard-of cruelty, retreated to Toningen, at the approach of the Muscovites and the Saxons. His intention was to pass the winter there on the ice: but his ill fate ordered, that he should be surprised on it by an unexpected sudden thaw. Surrounded by enemies, without any bridges to facilitate his escape, he, at last, found himself under a necessity of surrendering prisoner of war, with the twelve thousand men under his command.

THE loss of so great a body, added to the stain left by it on the Swedish arms, proved but the forerunner of still greater misfortunes which awaited that kingdom. Swedish Pomerania was the province which smarted most for the ill conduct of Steinbock. The Muscovite and Saxon armies, having no longer any thing to fear, were already preparing to enter that province, and thereby render it once more the theatre of war. Under these apprehensions, the duke administrator of Holstein, and general Welling, governor of Pomerania, proposed to the
king,

king, to take, by way of sequestration, Swedish Pomerania into his hands. They were the more embarrassed, as they had not troops enough to defend it. They, therefore, had recourse to this desperate remedy, from hatred of the Muscovites, which blinded them to the interests of their master to such a degree, that they would much rather have seen the whole of Pomerania fall into the hands of the king of Prussia, than a single village of it into those of the Czar.

THE king, who thought the proposals of the administrator and Welling extremely advantageous, came into them very readily, in hopes that it would be a means of maintaining peace in this province, which bordered on his dominions. Twenty thousand Prussians, posted on the borders, immediately took possession of it, at the same time that Basschwitz, minister to the duke of Holstein, accompanied by general Arnim, sent thither by the king, repaired to Stettin, and, in the name of Welling, summoned Mayerfeld, who commanded there, to deliver it to the Prussians. Mayerfeld, who knew what his master would think of the matter, refused to obey, and desired

time to apply to the regency of Stockholm for their positive instructions on the occasion. This refusal of Mayerfield's was an authentic proof, that Welling had presumed too much on his authority, and that his passion had made him go greater lengths on the occasion, than he ought in duty, or was even authorised, to do. The king, who had consented to this sequestration through complaisance, relinquished his pretensions to it without expressing the least resentment; he immediately withdrew his troops, leaving Pomerania to take care of itself. It was more glorious for the Swedes to lose Pomerania by fighting in defence of it, than preserve it by a sequestration.

MENZIKOF, who had disarmed Steinbock in Holstein, fell upon Pomerania at the head of the Muscovites and Saxons. He immediately laid siege to Stettin, bombarded it, and pressed it so close, as in a few days to reduce it to the last extremity. Bassewitz, Welling, and Mayerfield, thought they might still essentially serve Charles XII. by delivering this place into the hands of the king.

king. Accordingly, two thousand Prussians and a battalion of the Holstein troops immediately took possession of it.

THE allies consented to this sequestration, on condition that the king should not suffer the Swedes to penetrate from Pomerania into Poland, this republic engaging, at the same time, to continue neuter : and, in order to remove any scruples which the allies might still harbour on this occasion, the king paid them 400,000 crowns; he bestowed a lordship, and a ring of great value, on Menzikof, who would, perhaps, have been as ready to sell his master, had the king wanted to purchase him. Menzikof, from a pastry-cook, was become first minister and generalissimo of the Czar. Such was the barbarity of this prince and his whole nation, that they could not find in the compass of their language any expression to signify honour and good faith.

CHARLES XII. the kings of Denmark and Poland, and the emperor, were all equally dissatisfied with this sequestration : the king of Sweden, because he foresaw, that he must ei-

ther lose Pomerania, or make an enemy of the king of Prussia; whereas he had but too many enemies already. The kings of Denmark and Poland were, indeed, bent upon stripping Charles XII. of his provinces. Taken up entirely with this single object of vengeance, they had forgot to settle the partition of their conquests; and could not see without pain, that the king of Prussia should obtain possession of Pomerania by a bare sequestration, and thereby reap all the fruits of the war, without having shared the hazard of it with them.

THE emperor, driven out of Spain, and obliged to maintain, singly, an unsuccessful war against France, had his mind embittered by his misfortunes, and could not bear the thought of Frederic-William's extending his territories, whilst he was daily losing his. In the mean time the place was put into the hands of the Prussians, the consideration for it paid, Menzikof corrupted, and, moreover, the king of Prussia was a prince who had rendered himself formidable: for these reasons, the neighbours of Frederic-William thought proper to
dissemble

dissemble their resentment, and even court his friendship.

THE king of Sweden writ to the king of Prussia from the furthest end of Bessarabia, that he protested against Welling's behaviour, would never make good the 400,000 crowns to his enemies, or subscribe to the sequestration.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this harshness of Charles XII. the king, jointly with the emperor, took the properest steps to restore peace. These two princes proposed the holding of a congress at Brunswick; but they miscarried through the obstinacy of the king of Sweden, and the hatred of the Czar and the king of Poland, who had learned from Charles XII. to set no bounds to their resentment.

DURING these disorders in the North, Frederic-William acquired the barony of Limbourg, by the death of Wolfrat, the last of his family, who then possessed it. Frederic I. had received the reversion of it from the emperor, in consideration of his parting with the principality of Schwibus.

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IN the South, Philip II. had by this time acquired the peaceable possession of the crown of Spain; and Victor-Amadeus, acknowledged king of Sicily by the peace of Utrecht, had been crowned at Palermo, in spite of the menaces of the emperor, and the clamours of the pope. Lewis XIV. who had but just made his peace with most of the powers of Europe, was driving before him Charles VI. whom his misfortunes seemed only to deafen to every proposal of accomodation. In the course of this campaign, Villars took Landau and Fribourg, in spite of all prince Eugene could do to save them.

THE emperor persisted in the war rather from a principle of pride, than for good reasons, considering how much too weak he was to withstand alone. Lewis XIV. His troops were worn down, his resources exhausted, and the purses of the maritime powers no longer open to him.

Anno 1714.

THE bad success of this campaign, and the fears of a worse, brought him at last to consider, that arrogance is vain, without strength to support it, that there are different styles of politics for different circumstances, and that it is right to take in the sails during a storm, as well as to loosen them in a favourable gale. Austria's haughtiness yielded this once to necessity.

EUGENE and Villars repaired to Rastadt, in the marquisate of Baden ; here they agreed on preliminaries, and thereby forwarded the opening of the congress of Baden in Switzerland, where the peace was signed the 7th of September. The emperor ceded Landau to France, acknowledged Philip V. and renounced his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy. Lewis XIV. restored the places he had conquered on this side of the Rhine ; promised to raze the fortifications of Huningen, and not molest the emperor in his possession of the kingdom of Naples, or the duchies of Milan or Mantua ; he likewise acknowledged the ninth electorate. It
was

was also agreed to regulate, by a particular treaty, whatever remained to be discussed concerning the barrier of Flanders.

DURING these transactions, the queen of England died after a long severe sickness. Some of her ministers had exerted themselves to no purpose to restore the Pretender : but George of Hanover, grandson of the princess Palatine, daughter of James I. was proclaimed king of England, and raised to the throne by the wishes of the whole nation. It is this prince, whom we have already seen governing England with a due respect to her liberties, yet employing, at the same time, the subsidies granted him by his parliament to corrupt it ; a king without vanity, a politician without deceit, conducting himself in a manner to gain the confidence of all Europe.

IT is now time to return to the North, where a complication of events perplexed affairs more than ever. Charles XII. tired of that unparalleled obstinacy which had confined him to his bed at Demirtoca, ever bent on spurring up the Porte against the Czar, whilst his
enemies

enemies availed themselves of his absence to demolish his armies, and strip him of his best provinces ; Charles XII. I say, passed suddenly, from this inactivity to the hardest labour. Setting out directly from Demirtoca, he by an eleven days journey through the hereditary dominions of the emperor, Franconia, and Mecklenburgh, reached Stralsund when he was least expected.

The first thing he did after his arrival was to protest against the sequestration of Stettin, and declare, that as he had not signed any of the conventions made by his generals, in his absence, he was not bound by them. With a prince of Charles XII's character no arguments signified any thing, but those of force. Frederic-William caused it to be notified to him, that he would not suffer the Swedes to enter Saxony ; and at the same time ordered a considerable body of his troops to march towards Stettin. The little notice which the Swedes seemed to take of these remonstrances, laid the king under a necessity of entering into the alliance of the Russians, Saxons, and Hanoverians, in order to support his engagements
against

against the obstinacy of Charles XII. This monarch made himself master of Anclam, Wollgast, and Gripswalde, in which there was a garrison of Prussians: however, to keep up appearances, he sent back the Prussian troops he found there, without offering them any violence. But moderation in a prince of his character could not be of any continuance. In the beginning of the following campaign, the Swedes drove the Prussians out of the island of Usedom, and made a detachment of five hundred men prisoners of war. By this act of hostility, they trespassed against the neutrality of the Prussians, and made themselves the aggressors. The king had his honour too much at heart not to be greatly exasperated at this proceeding of the Swedes. Though at first sensibly touched at the affront, he could not help crying out: "What then! shall a prince I esteem, force me to become his enemy?" Flemming happened to be now at Berlin: this was the man, who, by his intrigues, got his master promoted to the throne of Poland; and afterwards, by his misconduct as a general, was the cause of his being driven from it.

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FLEMMING, on hearing of this infraction of the neutrality by the Swedes, immediately waited on the king, and took such advantage of the ill humour in which he found him, as to make him declare war directly against Charles XII.

By the month of June, twenty thousand Prussians joined the Saxons and the Danes in Pomerania. The king repaired to Stettin, where, after disarming the battalion of Holsteiners, which made part of the garrison, he exacted an oath of fidelity from the burghers; and then put himself at the head of his army.

EUROPE now saw a king besieged by two others in person: but the king thus besieged was Charles XII. at the head of fifteen thousand veteran Swedes, idolaters of their prince's bravery. Besides, the public prejudice and the reputation of his arms were greatly in his favour. In the army of the allies, it was the king of Prussia who examined the plans, settled the operations, and persuaded the Danes to concur in the execution of them. The king of Denmark,

mark, who knew very little of the theory or practice of the military art, came to the siege merely to enjoy the humiliation of Charles XII. Under these two kings, the prince of Anhalt was the life and soul of all the military operations. Passionate, hasty, and self sufficient, yet cool and deliberate in his enterprises, he joined to the valour of a hero all the experience that could be gathered from the finest campaigns of prince Eugene. His manners were savage, his ambition boundless ; he was well versed in the attacking and defending of places, a successful warrior, but a bad citizen, and qualified to be another Sylla or Marius, had fortune equally favoured his ambition. The Danish generals were mere shadows, and the Danish ministers arrant pedants.

SUCH was the composition of the army which laid siege to Stralsund. This place lies on the Baltic, so that the Swedish fleet could easily supply it with provisions, ammunition, and troops. It is, besides, strong by situation, two-thirds of its circumference being defended by an impracticable morass, and the only side by which it can be approached, by a good in-
trench-

trenchment terminating at the sea to the north, and at the morafs of which we have been fpeaking to the eaft. In this intrenchment were encamped twelve thoufand Swedes, with Charles XII. at their head. Thefe obftacles were too many to be removed at once. The firft thing to be done was to drive the Swedifh fleet from the coafts of Pomerania, in order to deprive Charles XII. of the fuccours he might otherwife expect from Sweden.

THE king of Denmark was unwilling to risk a battle with the fquadron he had in thefe parts, and this preliminary of the fieve rendered a negotiation neceffary. Eafy as it is to convince a clear-fighted man of the neceffity of a thing, by good arguments, it is equally difficult to fucceed with a narrow mind, diffident of himfelf, and afraid of being led aftray by others.

HOWEVER, the afcendant acquired by the king of Pruffia's genius over that of the king of Denmark, forced the latter, as it were, to be witnefs of the victory, which his admiral foon gained over the Swedifh fleet. The two kings
were

were spectators of the battle, which was fought but a league from the shore, and left the allies in possession of the sea. Upon this, the Prussians, under general Arnim, made a descent on the island of Usedom, drove the Swedes from thence, and took the fort of Penamunde by assault.

THIS obstacle removed, they prepared to attack the intrenchments. Unhappily for the Swedes, there happened to be in the Prussian service an officer capable of contributing greatly to the success of this operation, the most difficult and decisive of any the siege required. This officer's name was Gaudi: he recollected, that when studying the classics in the college of Stralsund, he used frequently to bathe in the arm of the sea which defended the intrenchment; and that it was neither deep nor muddy. For greater security, however, he took soundings in it by night, and found it would be an easy matter to wade thro' it, get round the intrenchment to the left, and take the enemy in rear and in flank. This project was happily executed: the Swedes were attacked by night. Whilst a body of the besiegers marched directly
up

up to the intrenchment, another crossed the sea near the shore, and penetrated into the Swedish camp, before their approach was so much as suspected. The surprize of the Swedes, on finding themselves so unexpectedly attacked, the confusion inseparable from all nocturnal operations, and above all, the great number of those who attacked them in flank, soon put them to flight :

they abandoned their intrenchment, and made the best of their way towards the city. Charles XII. mad to see himself deserted by his troops, was for making head singly against the enemy ; so that it was with no small difficulty his generals prevented him from falling into the hands of his pursuers. All those, who had not the good luck to get immediately into Stralsund, were either killed or made prisoners : the latter amounted to four hundred men.

IN order to shut up the place on every side, the besiegers now resolved to attack the island of Rugen, from which the besieged might still derive some assistance. Twenty thousand men, under the prince of Anhalt, were embarked for that island, which lies but a little way from the coast of Pomerania ; and the ships carrying

Carrying them were made to keep the same order of battle, which is usually observed by troops on shore. The first thing they did, was to feign a descent on the eastern side of the island; then turning suddenly to the left, the prince of Anhalt landed his forces in the little port of Streffow, where the enemy did not expect him. He formed them into a quadrant, with its two wings terminating at the sea; and caused intrenchments to be immediately thrown up, and fortified with chevaux de frize. Two lines of infantry supported his intrenchment; the cavalry formed the third line, all to two squadrons, which he had posted on the out-side, in order to be at hand to fall on the flank of those who might come to attack him on that side.

CHARLES XII. was so disconcerted by the feint of the prince of Anhalt, that he could not arrive time enough to oppose his landing. Aware, however, of the importance of this island, though he had but four thousand men left, he advanced by night towards the prince of Anhalt, as well to hide from him the fewness of his troops, as in hopes of being able to
fur-

surprise him. He himself marched on foot, sword in hand, at the head of his infantry, to the edge of the ditch, and with his own hands plucked up some of the chevaux de frize by which it was defended : in the attempt he was slightly wounded, and general Düring killed by his side.

THE inequality of numbers ; the obscurity of the night ; the efforts of the six Prussian squadrons, which had fallen on the flank of the Swedes ; the obstacles of an intrenchment fortified with chevaux de frize ; and, above all, the king's being wounded ; rendered fruitless all the bravery of the Swedes. Fortune had turned her back upon them. Sweden was now rapidly going down hill.

THE king, being wounded, withdrew to get himself dressed ; and his dispersed troops took to their heels : next day twelve hundred Swedes were made prisoners at Fehr-schantz ; and the island of Rugen was entirely occupied by the allies. The brave colonel Warlensleben, who had been killed at the head of the Prussian gen-

darmes, after greatly contributing to the defeat of the Swedes, was much regretted.

AFTER this misfortune, Charles XII. abandoned the island of Rugen, and passed over to Stralsund. This town was now reduced to the last extremity. The besiegers were arrived at the counterscarp, and had already begun to throw a gallery over the principal ditch. The king of Sweden's temper was to bear up against adversity; he would not yield to fortune, but resolved to defend the breach in person. When the besiegers were going to give a general assault, Charles's generals threw themselves at his feet, beseeching him not to expose his person to so little purpose; and seeing that he was not to be moved by their prayers, they represented to him the risk he ran of falling into the hands of his enemies. The terror of such a disgrace at last determined him to quit the place. He embarked on a light skiff, and passing in it, by favour of the night, through the Danish fleet, which blocked up the port, with great difficulty he reached one of his ships, which landed him in Sweden. Fourteen years before he had left that kingdom as a hero
about

about to conquer the world, and he now returned to it a fugitive, pursued by his enemies, stripped of his finest provinces, and deserted by his army.

THE king of Sweden had no sooner set out from Stralsund, than the troops he left there prepared to capitulate; and accordingly capitulated the 27th of December. General Decker, the governor, sent to the king of Prussia's quarters to treat of the articles. The garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and two Prussian, two Saxon, and two Hanoverian battalions took possession of the place. Of the Swedes made prisoners during the course of this war, the king formed a new regiment of infantry, and gave the command of it to prince Leopold of Anhalt, second son to the prince who commanded his armies.

THE conquerors now divided amongst them the spoils of the conquered. The king kept that part of Pomerania which is situated between the Oder and the Pene, a little river issuing from Mecklenburg, and falling into the sea at Penamunde. Pomerania, situated be-

tween the Pene and the duchy of Mecklenburg, was restored to Sweden by the peace of Stockholm; and George king of England bought the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which the king of Denmark had conquered from Sweden; and the house of Hanover still remains in possession of them.

THO' the peace was not as yet concluded, the king of Prussia was permitted to remain quiet in his conquests. He went to Prussia, but did not think proper to be crowned there; thinking that this idle ceremony suited elective better than hereditary princes. But tho' he made so little of all these trappings of royalty, he was not the less scrupulous to fulfil all the duties of it. He visited Prussia and Lithuania, and formed a project to rescue these provinces from the distress and depopulation which the plague had brought upon them.

NOT to break our chain of events, we have thrown together the principal events of the campaign of Pomerania: it is now time to consider the revolutions which happened during this year in the rest of Europe, and how new
political

political combinations of the other powers gave rise to new political systems.

Anno 1715.

THE death of Lewis XIV. caused the government of France to assume a new face. Of all the numerous posterity of this prince, there now remained but a great-grandson, a child in the cradle. His great-grandfather had appointed his legitimated son, the duke of Maine, president of the council of regency. This monarch, so absolute when living, was very ill obeyed when dead. The parliament took upon them to judge between the Duke of Orleans and the duke of Maine; or rather, erected themselves into arbiters of the last will of the late king, and decided that Philip of Orleans, from being the first prince of the blood, had an indisputable right to the regency.

THE policy of the new regent confined itself to two principal objects; one was, to keep on good terms with his neighbours, which made him court the friendship of the emperor, and form a strict union with the king of England;

land; the other, to pay off the debts of the crown, which were immense. This made way for the system of Law, the plan of which was as useful as the execution of it proved pernicious. The regent, though possessed of a superior genius, laboured under those defects peculiar to the daring and hasty. The vastest ideas were as simple in his eyes as the most confined; he permitted himself to be hurried on by a fiery imagination, which often represented things to him quite different from what they really were. Born to cultivate the fine arts, which he accordingly cultivated, he was subject to all those excesses to which heroes are generally exposed. His constitution seconded the sensibility of his temper. He made the Abbé Dubois a cardinal, not so much on account of the abbé's being useful to the state, as because he was the secret minister of his passions. Calumny has not scrupled to accuse this mild and humane prince of the most shocking and horrible attempt; an attempt to poison his pupil and his king. The success of such a deed could not fail of inspiring a virtuous mind with as much horror as the miscarriage of a praiseworthy

worthy action; but the best apology for the regent is, that Lewis XV. lives and reigns.

Anno 1716.

To secure the peace of the kingdom, and take away all occasion of disputes, the regent concluded the Barrier treaty at Antwerp, by which it was stipulated, that the Dutch should maintain garrisons in Namur, Furnes, Tournay, Ypres, Menin, and Fort Knock, and renounce their claims to the administration of the Low Countries, of which the emperor Charles VI. thus came to be entirely possessed, in consideration of 600,000 German florins, which the house of Austria engaged herself to pay them annually.

THE wars which, at this period, immediately succeeded each other, hindered Europe from enjoying the fruits of the peace. In 1715, the Turks had invaded the Morea, and driven the Venetians out of it. The pope, alarmed for the fate of Italy, conjured the emperor to stand forth in defence of Christendom. Charles VI. assembled an army in Hungary, in order to make a diversion in favour of the

Venetians. Prince Eugene had beaten the Grand Visier near Temeswaer in the year 1716: this year he undertook the siege of Belgrade, and fortified his camp with a good intrenchment. The Turks came and invested it; and, not satisfied with blocking it up, began to besiege it in form. The prince let them quietly carry on their approaches, till they got beyond a rivulet which separated them from his camp, when he sallied out of his intrenchments on the 16th of August, fell upon them suddenly, routed them, took their cannon, baggage, in a word, their camp and every thing belonging to it; upon which Belgrade, having no relief to expect, surrendered, by capitulation, to the conquerors.

MARSHAL Starenberg, jealous of Eugene's glory, exclaimed so loudly against his conduct, as highly imprudent, that the emperor was on the point of ordering the defender of Germany to be impeached before a council of war, for having exposed the Imperial army to an irreparable disgrace; but Eugene's glory blazed forth to such a degree as to confound all his enemies.

Anno

Anno 1718.

THE Turks, the year following, concluded a peace at Passarowitz, and ceded to the emperor Belgrade, and all the Bannate of Temeswaer. The Venetians, whose defence had served as a pretence to Charles VI. to attack the Turks, payed with the Morea the acquisitions made by the emperor; and experienced, tho' too late, that the assistance of a powerful ally is always dangerous.

CHARLES VI. had scarce got the better of this enemy, when he found others upon his hands. There had started up in Spain a man of a bold, penetrating, and enterprizing genius; fertile in resources, and qualified to make the most of them; made, in a word, to aggrandize or overturn empires. This was the Abbé Alberoni, an Italian by birth, whom the Duke of Vendôme had brought with him into Spain, where he soon shewed his abilities, by removing and supplanting Cardinal Giudice, who then governed that kingdom.

ALBERONI thus climbed with giant strides to the pinnacle of Fortune. He insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen, a princess of the house of Parma, and seconded all her projects to settle her sons in Italy. The fleet which the king of Spain had fitted out with a view of assisting the emperor, was employed in making the conquest of Sardinia belonging to that prince.

THE Spaniards made themselves masters of Cagliari; and, soon after, of the rest of the island.

It was in vain England and France remonstrated against these proceedings; the queen was too much taken up with the designs suggested to her by Alberoni, now made cardinal, to give any attention to them. She had secretly resolved to conquer as much of Italy as she could. The emperor, at the pressing solicitations of England, had consented to confer on Don Carlos the investiture of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; but his father insisted upon having for him the kingdom of Naples.

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THIS torrent of ambition in a newly created power induced the emperor and the kings of France and England to conclude the quadruple alliance, by way of dike against its fury. The Dutch, who were to have acceded to this league, thought proper to reserve themselves for the office of mediators, and were replaced by the duke of Savoy.

THIS formidable alliance made no alteration in the projects of Alberoni, nor any impression on the queen's obstinacy, or the desire with which she had inspired her husband of providing establishments for his children. The Spanish fleet, which Europe thought was bound for Naples, attacked and took Palermo, where the Marquis de Lede assumed the title of vice-roy of Sicily. In the mean time, admiral Byng entered the Mediterranean with twenty English ships, and defeated the Spanish fleet near the Faro; but tho' he took fourteen of the finest vessels which composed it, he could not hinder the Marquis de Lede from carrying Messina. The Duke of Savoy, thus hard driven, consented to exchange with the emperor Sicily against the kingdom of Sardinia,

of which he afterwards took the title. The genius of Alberoni, too vast to be confined to a single enterprize, had formed a great many, and extended on every side, like those mines whose branches spread far and wide under the adjacent fields, play one immediately after the other, and blow up the enemy in the posts where they least expected it. One mine had burst in Italy, and another was discovered in France.

THIS was the famous conspiracy which prince Cellamare formed against the regent. By this project the Spaniards were to land on the coasts of Brittany, favour the assembling of the malecontents of Poitou, seize the king and the duke of Orleans, convene the states general which represent the body of the realm, and cause the king of Spain to be appointed tutor by them to the young king, and regent of his kingdom. This conspiracy got wind by a very singular event. The secretary of prince Cellamare happened to be one of the customers of La Fillon, a woman famous for the clandestine marriages struck up at her house.

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THE regent and cardinal Dubois had often availed themselves of this woman's industry. La Fillon observing, one day, the secretary to the Spanish embassy more thoughtful and fullen than usual, and not being able to pick out of him the reason of it, let loose at him a crafty cunning wench, who made him drunk, brought him to his speech, and then searched him; the papers found on him appeared of such consequence to La Fillon, that she took them secretly to the regent. This prince immediately gave orders for seizing the secretary: all the accomplices in the conspiracy were discovered. Five Breton gentlemen were executed: the duke of Maine, cardinal Polignac, and some other noblemen banished. The court sent troops into Brittany; so that, when the duke of Ormond appeared on the coasts of that province with a Spanish fleet, not one of the inhabitants dared to stir. This was the severest trial the regent's constancy was ever put to; and was said to have made such an impression on him, that he would have abdicated the regency, were it not for cardinal Dubois, who could not help expressing his admiration at the methods employed by Providence to continue it in the duke's

duke's hands. Europe now resembled the sea after a storm, which, notwithstanding the ceasing of the wind, still roars and foams, and is not to be calmed but by degrees. The temper of Charles XII. improved so little by his misfortunes, that the resentments which he brought back with him to Sweden, broke out against Denmark.

Anno 1717.

HE attacked Norway, having with him the prince of Hesse, who had married his sister Ulrica, and took Christiania, but could not reduce the citadel of Frederickshal; for which reason, and want of subsistence, he abandoned his conquests.

Anno 1718.

THE fear of the Russians had kept him in Scania. However, he contrived to make this year another irruption into Norway; laid siege to Frederickshal, and was killed in the trenches. That valour, of which he was so prodigal, proved in the end fatal to him: a
bullet

bullet from a small field-piece defending a howel, put an end to the career of a prince, who was wont to make the North tremble, whose bravery fell little short of heroism, and who would have been the greatest man of the age he lived in, had his moderation and justice been equal to his valour. The death of this prince was a signal, as it were, for a general cessation of arms. The Swedes raised the siege of Frederickshal, and marched back to their frontiers, without being attacked by the Danes. All Charles XIIth's projects of vengeance fell to the ground with him.

Just before his death he was still meditating bold enterprizes. Exasperated against George, king of England, who had stript him of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, he was about entering into an alliance with the Czar to drive the house of Hanover from the throne of England, and restore the Pretender. Gortz, who succeeded count Piper in the ministry of Sweden, was in the North what Alberoni was in the South. His intrigues kept in perpetual alarm the cabinets of all its princes. His designs were not confined to Europe: he was formed to be the minister of

Alexander or Charles XII. But then he overloaded Sweden with taxes, in order to be able to carry his vast projects into execution. The distresses occasioned thereby, and the great favour he enjoyed, drew on him the hatred of the people. As soon as the news of the king's death reached his dominions, his subjects impeached his minister. Envy invented a new crime to ruin him: he was accused of having slanderously misrepresented the nation to the king; and beheaded for it.

THE Swedes, by punishing Gortz, stigmatized in part, though indirectly, the memory of a monarch whose memory they still adore. But the people are a monster made up of contradictions, passing impetuously from one extreme to another, and as the fit takes them, protecting and oppressing virtue. Ulrica, sister to Charles XII. and consort to the hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel, succeeded her brother.

FREDERIC-WILLIAM could not help shedding tears on receiving the news of the premature death of Charles XII. He did justice to the great qualities of this prince, whose enemy he became.

became with concern, and almost in spite of himself.

THE example of Charles XII. had turned the brain of several little princes of Germany, too weak to tread in his steps to any purpose.

DUKE Charles - Leopold of Mecklenburg had ambition enough to think of raising an army; and to maintain it, he ground the faces of his people to such a degree, that the nobility, driven to despair, exhibited a complaint against him at Vienna, where it was backed by Bernsdorff, the Hanoverian minister, but a native of Mecklenburg.

HE obtained from the emperor a thundering decree against the duke. Though this prince had espoused a niece of the Czar's, in order to make sure of a powerful protector, the emperor, at the instigation of Bernsdorff, issued a commissorial decree to the elector of Hanover and the duke of Brunswick, to sequester his territories. The king of Prussia complained at Vienna, that though a director of the circle of Lower Saxony, this decree had not been directed

ed to him. The emperor made answer, that it would have been against the laws of the empire to charge the king with the execution of it, as he had the reversion of Mecklenburg. In the mean time the Czar declared, that he could never suffer a prince who had married into his family, to be oppressed.

WHAT contributed most to prevent Frederic-William's going greater lengths in this affair, was the king of England's having, by his address to get himself appointed mediator of the peace which Prussia was then negotiating in Sweden, made it requisite to treat him with a great deal of circumspection. Thus the Hanoverians were permitted to remain in quiet possession of the sequestration, the expences of which, still depending, they made amount to some millions. The peace, though not formally concluded with Sweden, was pretty much the same thing. The king, who now saw tranquility restored to his dominions, began from henceforward to reign in good earnest; that is, to promote the happiness of his subjects. This prince had in abhorrence those turbulent geniuses, who, as far as intrigue can

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go, are sure to disturb the peace of mankind. Far from aspiring to the reputation of those conquerors who suffer themselves to be blinded by the love of glory, he rather affected that of those legislators, all whose views are honest and virtuous.

He was of opinion that the steadiness so requisite to reform abuses, and introduce useful novelties, was far preferable to that constitutional bravery which makes men face the greatest dangers, without fear it is true, but often too without thought. The marks left on the Prussian state by the wisdom of his government will remain as long as the state itself shall subsist. It was now, in fact, that Frederic-William established his military system, and interwove it so intimately with the other branches of his government, as to create an impossibility of stirring it, without endangering the state itself. To give the reader some idea of the wisdom of this system, it will not be amiss to consider it more minutely,

So early as the reign of Frederic I. abuses had crept into the department of taxes, which
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were become arbitrary ; and every order of the state cried out loudly for the reformation of them. When this matter came to be examined, there did not appear to exist any principle for regulating the contributions payable to the state by the land-owners ; in some districts the taxes continued to be levied on the footing they used to be before the Thirty Years War ; but the owners of all the lands improved since that period, and of which the number was considerable, were taxed very differently. To proportion them, therefore, the king caused all the lands capable of cultivation to be exactly surveyed, and restored an equality of contributions, according to the different classes of good or bad soils : moreover, as the price of necessaries had risen greatly since the government of the great elector, he raised the taxes in proportion, by which his revenues were considerably improved.

But, in order to distribute with one hand what he received with the other, he formed some new regiments of infantry, and augmented his cavalry, so as to make his troops amount to sixty thousand men ; and distributed those
troops.

troops over his provinces in such a manner, that the money the inhabitants paid the state might be constantly flowing back, by means of the parties quartered amongst them: besides, to ease the peasants, he quartered all the troops in the towns, to the great encrease of the excise, and, of course, the public revenues. By this means the troops were enured to the strictest discipline, the price of necessaries encreased, and our wool, which we used to sell raw to foreigners, and purchase from them ready manufactured, remained at home. The whole army was new cloathed every year, and Berlin filled with industrious tradesmen, who got all their bread by working for the army. The manufactures, once solidly established, soon became flourishing, and supplied with woollen goods a great part of the Northern nations of Europe.

THAT this army, which so early as the year 1718 amounted to near sixty thousand men, might not become burthensome to the state by the great number of recruits required to keep it up, the king issued an order enjoining the several captains to raise them in the empire; so that

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Some time after half the army consisted of foreigners.

THE king repeopled Prussia and Lithuania, which the plague had laid waste, with colonies brought at an immense expence of money, time, and trouble, from Switzerland, Swabia, and the Palatinate. By these means he restored to their primitive condition those wretched provinces, which their misfortunes had for a time effaced from the list of habitable countries.

HE made it a practice to visit all his dominions every year; and in these his periodical revolutions was sure every where to encourage industry and create plenty. He invited a great number of strangers to settle in his dominions, never failing to excite by privileges, bounties, and other favours such as established any manufactories in the towns, or brought with them any new arts.

THE wicked intriguing spirit of a private person interrupted for a time the tranquility which, by such wise measures, the king and kingdom enjoyed. This wretch was a Hungarian
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rian gentleman, called Clement, who laid himself out to make a fortune by imposing on the credulity of others. He had been employed in a subaltern capacity by prince Eugene, and afterwards by marshal Fleming. By dint of impostures, he had contrived to create a misunderstanding between the Imperial court and that of Saxony. As he lived entirely by his wits, he often stood in need of new dupes; and therefore resolved to lay the king himself under contribution. With this view he came to Berlin, and found means to get himself introduced at court, by offering to discover secrets of the utmost importance. These secrets consisted in a conspiracy, which he affirmed the emperor and the king of Poland had formed, in conjunction with the principal persons at court. Clement assured, that these persons had suffered themselves to be caught by the tempting bait of riches and honours. The drift of this conspiracy was, he pretended, to seize the king's person, in a castle called Wusterhausen, where it was customary with him to spend two months every autumn, and deliver him into the hands of the emperor. The vicinity of this castle to the frontiers of Saxony, from which it lay but
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four miles, and the circumstance of the king's never using any guards there, gave this tale some air of probability.

FREDERIC-WILLIAM made flight of these insinuations, till Clement shewed him a letter from prince Eugene full of the affair; and the wretch took upon him to convince the king of every thing which he had advanced, by producing other letters of the prince of Anhalt, general Grumkow, and other lords of his court. This unparalleled assurance in Clement gave rise in the king's mind to the most cruel suspicions. He began to mistrust his best subjects. At length he resolved to try, himself, if Clement knew the hand-writing of those whom he so liberally accused. For this purpose, a bundle of letters written by different persons being thrown upon a table, with orders to him to tell by whom they were severally written, the cheat appeared by his not being able to do it. He afterwards owned in prison, that he had counterfeited the writing and arms of prince Eugene. He received the just reward of his imposture and wickedness, and was beheaded. These false accusations, however, proved fatal

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to some fortunes, and were, for a time, a source of umbrage or diffidence. The minds of princes are more open to calumny than justification; they know men too well not to be aware, that it is almost impossible to meet with any virtue without alloy; and have before their eyes so many instances of the depravity of the human heart, that they are more liable to judge wrong of others, than private persons are, who have little experience of the world. The lies of Clement had derived some credit from the conspiracy of prince Cellamare, still fresh in every one's memory. This conspiracy, far more real than that of Clement's, was, accordingly, attended with far more important consequences, in consequence of the quadruple alliance, which had been just formed. The regent found it an easy matter, and without risking any thing, to make Alberoni smart for his projects; and did not let slip the opportunity of doing it. He made no scruple of publicly owning, on his declaring war against Spain, that he meant no harm to any one but the first minister.

THE French army, commanded by Berwic,
took Saint Sebastian and Fontarabia; whilst the
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English fleet ravaged the ports of Santo Antonio and Vigo ; and the imperial army, under Merci, after passing over into Sicily, obliged the marquis of Leda to raise the siege of Melazzo, and retook the town and citadel of Syracuse. The king of Spain marched with an army to the frontiers of the kingdom. The king headed the first column, the queen the second, and Alberoni the third : but it was a trade none of them were made for ; so that the king, discouraged by the frowns of fortune in the first operations of the war, chose to sacrifice his minister, rather than expose his crown to greater dangers : it was, indeed, the only way to restore peace to Europe on a lasting foundation. Had Alberoni got two worlds to gratify his ambition, he would have still hankered after a third. His projects were too vast, and his imagination too fiery : he had resolved to drive the emperor out of Italy, to make his master regent of France ; and, in order to restore the pretender to the throne of England, was for spiriting up Charles XII. against king George ; and arming the Turks and Russians against the emperor Charles VI.

THE reason, in my opinion, why these vast projects of ambitious men always miscarry is, that in politics, as well as in mechanics, simple machines have a very great advantage over those complex ones : the more springs are used to produce a motion, the more is that motion liable to cease, or grow irregular.

HAPPILY for Europe, the princes, who were to be the executors of Alberoni's projects, were not infected by his enthusiasm : they were not by a great deal so deeply struck by them. Good sense may suffer itself to be drawn into the hazardous current of the imagination ; but then it never suffers itself to be long detained there ; reflection stops it, foresight intimidates it, and obstacles often discourage it. This Alberoni experienced on the part of the princes, whom he was for gaining over to his projects ; he himself fell into the snare, which he had laid for the peace of Europe ; and was glad to return to Italy under the passes of those powers, whom he had most grievously offended.

Anno 1720.

THUS was a conflagration, which might have become fatal to Europe, timely prevented, by putting out the torch prepared to kindle it. Spain, by the fall of Alberoni, was restored to her true state of equilibrium; she sought the friendship of France, and, as a proof of her sincerity, acceded to the quadruple alliance.

THE regent, who had thus so gloriously put an end to the differences arisen between France and Spain, was not happy enough to preserve the first of these kingdoms from a greater and more universal tempest than those by which long and ruinous wars are generally followed: Law's system had set the French a-madding after paper; the sudden accumulation of some fortunes turned the brain of the nation; and it was by carrying things to so great length, that such numbers were ruined.

LAW, immediately on his being appointed director of the royal bank, in the year 1716, began to display his famous system, by establishing

blishing a Western and a Mississippi company; and the bank, of which the king of France was to be at once both the protector and proprietor. The intention of the regent and Law was to double the funds of the kingdom, by ballancing the imaginary value of paper against the real value of money, in order to bring the current coin of the kingdom little by little into the king's coffers. For this purpose, an edict was issued the 2d of August 1719, forbidding private persons, under the severest penalties, to keep by them above five hundred livres. The first actions were succeeded by new ones, which were called their daughters; at length these daughters got grand-daughters; and the paper money erected by this system amounted to three thousand and seventy millions. All the debts of the state were paid off by notes, bearing a particular stamp. These foundations being originally adapted to bear but a certain weight, the superstructure, which they were for making three or four times heavier, soon gave way, shook the whole nation, and buried under its ruins the architect who had raised it. Law was more than once, on his paper's losing its credit, in danger of being stoned by the populace.

lace. At length he quitted the kingdom, abandoning the post or charge of comptroller of the finances, with which he had been invested in the beginning of the year, and all the great acquisitions he had made in France. He was far from being rich when he came into France; and he was not better when he left it. He took refuge in Venice, where he died a beggar.

THERE are few periods of history which, in proportion to their duration, contain so many examples of humbled ambition. The falls of Gortz, Alberoni, and Law, were equally sudden with their rise: but ambition is a stranger to reflection; and often trips, by walking in a road bordered with precipices. The North and South benefited equally by the downfall of Gortz and Alberoni: the peace, which the king was negotiating at Stockholm, was at last concluded: on this occasion, his moderation made him lose sight of his interest. D'Illgen, like all other ministers, was continually representing to him, that he ought to avail himself of every advantage; and that by holding out a little, he might oblige Sweden to cede him the island of Rugen
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with the town of Wolgast, and the Danes to grant him an exemption from the Sound dues. The king's answer to these remonstrances of his minister is to be found in the archives, in his own hand-writing. "I am satisfied, said he, with the portion I enjoy by the grace of heaven; and shall never think of aggrandising myself at the expence of my neighbours." He paid the Swedes two millions for the indented part of Pomerania; so that the acquisition was rather a purchase than a conquest.

THE king of England, who by his mediation had greatly contributed to the peace of Stockholm, soon after made one for himself with Spain. Philip V. ceded Gibraltar and Port Mahon to England, on condition that the king of England should never for the future intermeddle with the affairs of Italy. The emperor could not behold, without pain and envy, the advantages enjoyed by the king of Prussia: the house of Austria was for having the princes of Germany, whom she affects to consider as her vassals, waste their forces against her enemies, instead of employing them for their own aggrandisement.

THE great elector had seconded the emperor, because their interests were often connected. Frederic I. had assisted him, as well through prejudice, as in order to be acknowledged king of Prussia. Frederic-William, no way attached by either prejudice or interest to the house of Austria, afforded him no assistance towards carrying on his wars in Hungary or Sicily: there existed no treaty between them; he even desired to be excused from entering into any, under pretence that he had reason to apprehend some new attempt on the part of the Swedes. The truth was, he was too clear sighted to forge chains for himself, by contributing to the aggrandisement of the house of Austria, which, in Germany, aspired to absolute monarchy.

THE moderate and well-governed policy of Frederic-William centered entirely in the improvement of his hereditary dominions: he had fixed his residence at Potzdam, a country seat, which originally had been a poor fishing hamlet: he made a fine large town of it, in which all the arts flourished, from the most common to those qualified to gratify the most refined luxury.

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SOME smiths of Liege, whom his liberality had engaged to settle there, established a manufactory for arms; by which not only his own army, but the armies of some other northern powers were supplied. They soon made velvets there equal to those of Genoa. Every industrious stranger that offered was immediately received there, settled, and rewarded.

THE king established in this town, of which he was himself the founder, a great hospital, in which two thousand five hundred boys, the children of soldiers, are constantly maintained, and enjoy opportunities of learning the profession they like best, and have the best genius for: he likewise erected an hospital for girls, in which they are brought up to works suitable to their sex. By these charitable institutions he afforded relief to the soldiers, overburthened by large families; and secured a good education to children, whose parents were not in a condition to afford them any. He, the same year, augmented the body of cadets, in which three hundred young gentlemen are brought up in the profession of arms. No object can be more de-

serving the attention of a legislator, than the education of youth. These young plants are susceptible, whilst tender, of every impression. When care has been taken to inspire them with the love of virtue and their country, they become good men; and good men are the strongest and most durable bulwarks of every state. If princes are entitled to our esteem, by governing with justice, they are equally sure of winning our affections by extending that view to posterity.

THIS same year, the king sent the count de Truches to France, to congratulate Lewis XV. who being now of age to govern, was consecrated at Rheims.

Anno 1723.

THE calumnies propagated to the disadvantage of the regent had taken such hold of men's minds, that France daily expected to hear of the death of her monarch, when she saw suddenly happen that of the regent. This prince, having let slip his usual time for bleeding, was seized with an apoplectic fit, in the arms of the duchess of Talaris, in a moment of extacy; which

which gave room to doubt, if it was in a fit of excessive pain or pleasure he lost his life. Augustus of Poland, on hearing the particulars of the regent's death, cried out, in the words of the scripture: *Ah, may my soul die the death of this just man!* Cardinal Dubois had preceded the regent by a few months. The people used to say of him, that he was gone to prepare quarters for the regent, with some girl of the other world. The regency ended by the death of the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Bourbon became first minister. This change in the government of France, and some new enterprises of the house of Austria, contrary to treaties of peace, brought about an entire change in the political system of affairs. The emperor had granted commissions to the merchants of Ostend to trade to the Indies, and thereby awakened the attention of all the commercial states of Europe. France, England, and Holland, equally alarmed by a scheme equally detrimental to them all, united to require a suppression of the new company, formed by these merchants; but the court of Vienna, instead of paying any regard to their remonstrances, haughtily insisted on the execution of her project.

Anno 1724.

THE powers at variance had recourse to conciliatory methods, as fittest equitably to terminate these differences and some others; such as that concerning the eventual succession of Parma and Placentia. A congress met at Cambray, but none of the parties would desist from their pretensions. The ministers, as it became them, disputed with great warmth; each maintaining his point by arguments which he affected to believe could admit of no reply. The owners of houses and wine merchants made fortunes; the princes paid for them: and the congress broke up without determining any thing.

WHILST these politicians were thus barely discussing such weighty concerns, Philip V. eluding the vigilance of his wife, abdicated suddenly, in favour of his son Lewis. It was in order to procure him the throne, which he thus voluntarily relinquished, that France had squandered so much blood and treasure; but the death of Lewis happened so soon after his father had ceded the throne to him, as not to give him time to repent so singular a step.

Anno

Anno 1725.

HE had scarce reascended the throne, when he concluded a treaty of commerce with the emperor, unknown to England. Count Konigseck, ambassador from Charles VI. at Madrid, had lured the queen, by the prospect of a match between her son Don Carlos and the archduchess Maria Theresa, heiress to the house of Austria; and the hopes of being able to unite in their house all the possessions of the emperor Charles V. engaged the queen and king of Spain to grant the emperor very advantageous terms. King George feared lest this treaty might contain some secret articles in favour of the pretender; France was displeased that Spain should, by her subsidies, enable the emperor to support the Ostend company.

THE king of Prussia resented a thundering decree, with which Charles VI. had caused him to be served, concerning certain dues required by him from the fiefs of Magdeburg. These three powers, having every one of them some reason or another to be angry with the
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court of Vienna, entered into strict engagements, which promised to be the more lasting, as they were built on their private interests. This conformity of sentiments gave rise to the treaty of Hanover.

THIS treaty was of the defensive kind, and consisted of reciprocal guarantees. France and England bound themselves in such vague terms as would admit almost of any meaning, to use their good offices to hinder the claims of Prussia, upon the succession of Berg, from suffering on the death of the Elector Palatine. Sweden, Denmark, and Holland acceded afterwards to this treaty. France and England, however, had some real designs upon the house of Austria: and with this view, hoped to be able to make the king serve their purpose by wresting Silesia from her. Frederic-William had no aversion to take upon him the execution of this project; all he desired was to be joined by a single brigade of Hanoverians, that he might not engage alone in so important an enterprize; or that the allies should agree to a diversion in some other quarter, whilst he began the operations in Silesia. Reasonable as this alternative appeared,
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the king of England could never be brought to explain himself sufficiently in regard to it.

THESE powers had scarce signed their treaty at Hanover, when the emperor, the king of Spain, the czar, and some German princes, signed another treaty of alliance at Vienna. It is by means of these great alliances, by which Europe is split into two powerful parties, that the strength of the several states composing it are preserved in a proper equilibrium ; that the power of one is made to keep the other in awe ; and the wisdom of able politicians contrives to stifle the seeds of war, and maintain peace, when most likely to be disturbed.

THE czar had no sooner signed the treaty of Vienna, than he made strong remonstrances to the king of Prussia on the party he had taken, insinuating to him in those terms, which are no better than threats couched under polite language, that he could not tamely see the emperor's hereditary states attacked.

BUT the czar died before he could make good these threats, leaving behind him the reputation
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of an extraordinary, rather than that of a great man. The cruelties of a tyrant were hid in him by the virtues of a legislator. He was succeeded by the empress Catherine, his wife. This princess was a Livonian by birth, and of the meanest extraction, being the widow of a subaltern Swedish officer. She became the mistress, by turns, of some Russian officers, and lastly of Mentzikof; at length, the czar himself fell in love with her, and took her to himself. In 1711, when the czar approached the river Pruth with his army, the Turks crossed it, and took post opposite his camp. By this means he suddenly found himself with two hundred thousand enemies in front, and a river in his rear, which he could not pass for want of a bridge. The grand vizir, who had attacked him several times, finding his troops as often repulsed, resolved to take another method with him. Hearing by a deserter that the greatest scarcity of bread prevailed in his camp; and that all his provisions must be consumed in a few days, he contented himself with blocking him up. This was what Peter I. most apprehended: his army was now almost wasted to nothing; he had but thirty thousand men left, and

and those worn down with hunger and fatigue, without hopes, and consequently without heart or spirits. In this desperate situation, the czar took a resolution worthy of his greatness of soul; he gave orders to general Czerbatof, that his troops should be in readiness against morning, to cut themselves a way with their bayonets through the Turkish camp; directed the baggage of the whole army to be burnt; and then retired to his tent, full of those melancholy reflections with which his desperate situation could not fail of inspiring him. Catherine's mind alone rode out the storm of despair, in which the prospect of unavoidable death or slavery had sunk all the rest. She behaved with a courage above her sex and her birth: she held a council with the generals, and resolved to sue for a peace. Chancellor Schaffiroff drew up a letter from the czar to the visir, and Catherine, by dint of entreaties, tears, and caresses, prevailed on him to sign it; backing it by all the riches she could find in the camp. After some conferences, the presents took effect; a treaty of peace followed, by which the czar restored or ceded Azoph to the Turks; and thereby escaped as great a danger, as that against which
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the fortune of Charles XII. split at Pultowa. The czar's gratitude was proportionable to the service Catherine had done him; and judging her worthy to govern the state she had saved, he declared her his wife, and had her crowned as such. This princess continued to govern Russia with great wisdom and steadiness, and fulfilled the engagements the czar had entered into with the emperor Charles VI.

WHILST all the powers of Europe were preparing for war, Lewis XV. married the daughter of Stanislaus Leczinski, the dethroned king of Poland. The duke of Bourbon, who had made this match for the king, soon after chose for himself the princess of Rheinfels, a woman of great beauty; upon which, the king of France is said to have told him, that he knew how to chuse better for himself than for others. But the queen of France has since proved herself possessed of all such fine qualities of the head and heart, as more than compensate the want of those frail charms, which the slightest accident is capable of spoiling.

Anno 1726.

THE whole of the year 1726 was spent in warlike preparations. Three Muscovite ships of the line came to winter in Port St. Andero, in Spain. The English fitted out three fleets, one of which sailed to the Indies; another to the coasts of Spain; and a third to the Baltic. France augmented her regiments, and established a militia of sixty thousand men. The king's situation was now truly critical and perplexing, for he saw himself at the eve of a war, from which he had more to apprehend than any of his allies, without any certainty of being properly supported by them; exposed to the irruptions of the Muscovites, and tied down to the execution of a plan, the nature and extent of which was kept a secret from him: the provinces he was to conquer had been, indeed, pointed out to him, but the distribution of them when conquered, had not been settled: in a word, the Hanoverian minister of king George affected to treat the king of Prussia as a subaltern power. The prospect of so many dangers, and so few advantages, joined to this excessive
arrogance,

arrogance, gave the king a disgust for the impetuous airs which his allies affected to give themselves in their delays with him, and made him resolve to look for security from some other quarter.

THIS year proved fatal to prime ministers. The duke of Ripperda was stripped of his employments, and then put under arrest at Madrid, for having concluded the treaty of Vienna; but he made his escape, fled to the king of Morocco, and died soon after. The duke of Bourbon's fate, though not so melancholy, differed but little from it: he was banished, thro' the intrigues of the ancient bishop of Frejus, preceptor to the king, who succeeded him as prime minister, and was created cardinal. The first use the minister made of his power was to reduce the heavy taxes with which the people were burthened: he did the king's finances as much service, by introducing œconomy into that department, as mischief to the military, and particularly the marine, which he neglected. Supple, timid, and crafty, he filled his ministerial functions with all the vices of a priest; so true is it, that, though employments may make men look fine, they cannot change them!

them! We might add to these disgraces, the election and fall of Maurice, count of Saxony, promoted to the ducal crown of Poland, by the consent of the states, and driven from his country by the arms of the Russians. It is this count de Saxe, whom we have since seen make so great a figure at the head of Lewis XVth's armies, and whose great qualities are worth the noblest extraction.

THIS year Europe lost two crowned heads : one of them the empress Catherine, who was succeeded by Peter Alexiowitz, grandson of Peter I. then a child, in the hands of some Boiards, who were attached to the old customs of the nation ; and thereby prepared for him a perpetual minority. The other was George I. who was succeeded by his son George II. Frederic-William and George II. though brothers-in-law, and in a manner brought up together, could never endure each other, even when children. This personal hatred, and settled antipathy, had like to have proved fatal to their subjects. The king of England used to stile the king of Prussia, *my brother the serjeant* ; and the king of Prussia the king of England, *my brother the player*.
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This animosity soon infected their dealings, and did not fail to have its influence on the most important events. Such is the wretched condition of mortals, to be governed by men who are themselves governed by their most trifling passions ; and to be the sport of events, which, however puerile in themselves, prove often the occasion of the greatest revolutions !

GEORGE II. had scarce ascended the British throne, when count Seckendorf came to Berlin. This man served, at one and the same time, in the Imperial and Saxon troops ; to the most sordid interestedness, he united the coarsest and most rustic manners ; he was by habit so inured to lying, as to have lost all sense of truth : his soul was that of an usurer, sometimes animating the body of a soldier, and sometimes that of a negociator. This man, however, Providence thought fit to employ to break the treaty of Hanover. Seckendorf had served in Flanders, at the siege of Tournay and the battle of Malplaquet, at which the king had been present. This prince had a singular predilection for all the officers whom he had known in this war. He made no scruple
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of complaining to Seckendorf of the ill usage he met with from his allies.

Anno 1727.

SECKENDORF immediately closed in with him, condemned without hesitation the bad behaviour of France, and especially that of England: spoke of the emperor as a prince more true to his engagements and more constant in his friendships: placed an union between the houses of Prussia and Austria in the most advantageous light; not forgetting to throw into the prospect, the readiness with which the emperor would infallibly grant the king every security he could wish for, in regard to the full and entire succession of Berg: at length, he insinuated himself so deeply, and with so much dexterity, into the king's good graces, as to make him sign a treaty with the emperor at Wusterhusen: this treaty consisted of reciprocal guarantees, and some articles relating to the commerce of salt, carried on by Brandenburg with Silesia, by means of the Oder.

Anno

Anno 1728.

THIS treaty was scarce concluded, when a war had like to have broke out in Germany, between the kings of Prussia and England, on a subject of so little importance, that no princes could have made a pretext of it, but such as were heartily disposed to vex each other. The matter in dispute was two little meadows on the borders of the Old Marche and the duchy of Zell, whose limits happened not to be settled ; and some Hanoverian peasants whom the Prussian officers had enlisted. The king of England, then at Hanover, ordered forty Prussian soldiers, on their march through the country under a pass, to be stopped by way of reprisals. These princes were perpetually on the watch for pretences to quarrel with each other. Kings sometimes think it too much trouble to look for any.

THE king of Prussia, thinking his honour at stake, in the affair of the little meadows, and the arrest of his forty soldiers, listened only to his hatred and resentment. The emperor fed

this fire ; he would have been glad to see the most powerful princes of Germany destroy each other : he promised the king a succour of twelve thousand men : the king of Poland, dissatisfied with the king of England, offered another of eight thousand. All Prussia was now up in arms ; nothing was to be seen but troops defiling towards the Elbe. Hanover trembled. George, who did not at first dream of a war, summoned Sweden, Denmark, Hesse, and Brunswic, all in the pay of England, to supply him with troops ; and sounded the alarm in France, Russia, and Holland. The emperor, to spur on the king to a rupture, guaranteed to him all his possessions on the Weser and the Rhine. This affair now began to look very serious, when it unexpectedly took another turn. The king assembled a council, composed of his principal ministers and his oldest generals ; stated the question to them, and desired to have their opinion on it. Marshal Nazmer, a Jansenist protestant, made a long harangue ; in which he lamented the fall of the protestant religion, on the point of being crushed by the dissensions of the two princes of Germany who alone could effectually support it. The mi-

nisters insisted on the secret reasons which the Imperial court had to poison, with so much malice, the minds of the two monarchs, in a matter of so little importance in itself; and which, besides, was still in a way of being amicably decided. The prince who listens to advice, must be capable of following it. The king this day obtained over himself a victory much more glorious than any he could have obtained over his enemies. He silenced his passions, in favour of his people. The dukes of Brunswick and Gotha were named by the princes at variance to terminate these little differences. The emperor did all that lay in his power to cross this negotiation; but it was soon brought to an issue. The Prussian soldiers were set at liberty; the Hanoverian peasants restored; and the pretensions to the meadows adjusted.

SUCH amicable accommodations are the wiser, as they are what princes, after the longest wars, are generally obliged to have recourse to, without obtaining the better terms for the loss of all their men and money. This uncommon moderation of Frederic-William is, perhaps, the only example of the kind we meet with in history.

history. Ever more attentive to the welfare of his subjects than his own aggrandisement, he founded the hospital of the charity at Berlin, in the model of the Hotel-Dieu at Paris. He built Frederic-stadt ; which, as well in point of largeness, as the straitness of the streets, all laid out by the line, and the beauty of the buildings, far surpasses the old city ; and he had the pleasure to receive the king of Poland in it. This interview was celebrated by magnificent feasts and spectacles.

IN the mean time, the negotiations were going on, to prevent fresh troubles from breaking out in Germany. The powers concerned agreed to the holding of a congress at Soissons ; where the ministers of all the courts interested in the treaties of Hanover and Vienna met : and the advantages offered to Spain, by France and England, detached her from the emperor's interest.

Anno 1729.

THIS congress produced the treaty of Seville ; the articles of which are the more remarkable,

as they open to Spain a door into Italy ; and England, by them, engages to procure Don Carlos the succession to the duchies of Parma and Placentia, in consideration of the advantages granted her by the Affiento treaty.

Anno 1730.

THE king of Poland, who had visited Berlin in the year 1728, thought proper, in his turn, to display his magnificence. For this purpose, he assembled twenty-three thousand of his troops in a camp near Radeberg, a village situated on the Elbe. The manœuvres of his army were intended to exhibit a picture of war as made by the Romans, and combined with the dreams of the Chevalier Folard ; but the connoisseurs could discover nothing in them, but a theatrical spectacle, instead of a true emblem of war.

DURING these apparent demonstrations of friendship, the agents of Augustus were intriguing in every court of Europe, to deprive Frederic-William of the succession of Berg, in favour of the house of Saxony. This camp,
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this magnificence, and other false marks of esteem, were so many artifices, by which the king of Poland hoped to lull the king of Prussia; but the latter saw into them, and proportionably detested the motives. However justifiable actions of this kind may appear by the rules of politics, they can scarce be made to square with those of morality; and, to view things in their proper light, the reputation of a sharper must be as prejudicial to the glory of a prince, as hurtful to his interests. It was imagined, that some reflections like these, gave king Victor a disgust for royalty; but it was nothing, in fact, but his passion for madame de Saint Sebastian, whom he married at Chamberri, after his abdication. It is said, that he never lost that air of authority with which he had acted when king; and, that having some reason to be dissatisfied with the count d'Ormea, and some other ministers, he intended to make his son disgrace them; and that the count d'Ormea, having got wind of the abdicated monarch's intentions, and knowing that he was lost, if he could not be before-hand with him, immediately waited on the reigning king; made him believe that his father was conspiring

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against him, and wanted to dethrone him ; and pressed him so earnestly, that the father was put under arrest, and conducted to the castle of Chamberri, where he ended his days. It is impossible not to pity a prince in such circumstances, in which he has nature, interest, and glory, equally to struggle with.

IN Russia, the young czar Peter II. died the same year, after having been betrothed to the princess Dolgorucki. The family of that name had its views in placing her on the throne : but the Russians would not consent to the Imperial sceptre's departing the house of Peter I.

FOR this reason, an offer of it was made to the duchess dowager of Courland, who accepted it. In the beginning, the Russians set bounds to her authority ; but the Dolgorucki family falling into disgrace, it became absolute. She maintained, as her predecessors had done, the connections which had long subsisted between her ancestors and the house of Austria.

Anno 1731.

THE emperor soon forgot the services which the king had rendered him by renouncing the alliance of Hanover: he made up matters with the king of England; and, forgetting Prussia, gave him the investiture of the duchy of Bremen and the Hadelar-Land. Ingratitude is a bad coin, cried down every where, yet every where current.

THE death of so many princes, the disgracing of so many ministers, the renewing and altering of so many alliances, produced several new political combinations in Europe. England reconciled with Spain and Austria, added a numerous fleet to that of Spain, in order to transport Don Carlos to Italy. But twenty years before, Great Britain had ruined herself to drive the Spaniards out of Naples and the Milanese; as thinking the power of Philip V. but too formidable without these states; and now, scarce twenty years after, an English fleet brought the Spaniards back into Italy, and gave the in-

fant Parma and Placentia, the last duke of which was just deceased.

THE Corsicans at the same time rebelled against the Genoese, on account of the severity with which they were treated. The emperor sent the Genoese some troops, who reduced the Corsicans. These revolts often broke out again between this period and the year 1736; when the Corsicans chose for their king an adventurer, named Theodore de Neuhoff. It was thought, that the duke of Lorrain, who since became emperor, fomented this rebellion. Be that as it will, the island of Corsica was, by the assistance of the French, again reduced to the obedience of its former masters.

Anno 1732.

ITALY now seemed at the eve of a new war. The queen of Spain, whose scheming and enterprising genius knew no bounds, continued to make great armaments; but instead of falling upon Italy, they landed on the coast of Africa, and made themselves masters of Oran. Upon this, she procured a brief from the pope, for a
tenth

tenth of the Spanish clergy's revenues, as long as the war against the infidels should last; with a view to make this war perpetual. In this manner, by sacrificing every year a hundred Spaniards in skirmishes against the Moors, she has contrived to secure to herself the enjoyment of the tenths of the church-revenues of Spain, an accession of some importance to the finances of that kingdom. Thus the masters of Peru and Mexico, coming to want money, were glad to receive alms from the priests of their kingdom.

It is high time to make an end of these digressions, and return to Berlin, where Seckendorff's intrigues had greatly extended his credit: he was for governing the court without controul. For this purpose, he proposed to the king an interview with the emperor, then at Prague, in hopes of rendering himself useful enough on the occasion, infinitely to increase the confidence which the king already placed in him. The king, as unsuspicious in his dealings, as frank in his manners, readily agreed to the proposal; without taking any measures, either in regard to the object of this interview, or the etiquette

to be observed at it, which he despised. His behaviour on this occasion is a proof, that honour and virtue, so opposite to the corrupt ways of the age, have no chance to thrive in it. Politicians have banished openness and candour into private life, and set themselves above the laws they have made for other men. The plain manners of the king fell a sacrifice to the Imperial etiquette: the guarantee of the succession of Berg, of which Seckendorf had given a sacred promise in the name of the emperor, turned to smoke; and the ministers of that prince betrayed dispositions so contrary to Prussia, that the king could not help saying, that, if there was a court in Europe heartily bent upon thwarting his views, it must certainly be that of Vienna. This interview between the emperor and the king might be compared to that between Cræsus and Solon. The king returned to Berlin, still opulent in his own virtue. The severest critics could find nothing but an excess of probity to reproach in his behaviour.

Anno 1733.

THIS interview had the same consequence with most of the visits which kings pay each other: it cooled, or to speak more plainly, it utterly destroyed the friendship that had hitherto subsisted between the two courts. Frederic-William left Prague, in sentiments of the utmost contempt, for the bad faith and haughtiness of the Imperial court; whilst the Imperial ministers made little of a sovereign, who could laugh at the frivolous honours of precedence. Sinzendorf was pleased to think the king's pretensions to the succession of Berg too ambitious; and the king could not help considering the refusal of Seckendorf, and his fellow-ministers, as extremely indelicate: he considered them as no better than so many sharpers, who could break their word with impunity.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these causes of displeasure, the king had complaisance enough for the court of Vienna to marry his eldest son to a princess of Brunswic Bevern, niece to the empress. During the celebration of the nuptials,

news arrived of the king of Poland's death at Warsaw. This monarch, at the time of his being surpris'd by death, was taken up with the vastest designs; he was thinking how he might render the crown of Poland hereditary in his family. In order to attain this end, he had planned a division of the Polish dominions; thereby hoping to lay the jealousy of his neighbours: but this project he knew to be impracticable, without the king's assistance; and, therefore, desired he might send him marshal de Grumkou, that he might open his mind to him. The king of Poland wanted to pump Grumkou; and Grumkou wanted equally the king of Poland. For this purpose, they contrived to make each other drunk; and this drunken bout was followed by the king's death, and a fit of sickness in Grumkou, which he never got the better of. In the mean time, the king feigned to enter into the views of Augustus; but, as he could not but foresee the dangerous consequences with which the execution of them would be attended, he took measures with the emperor and the czarina to defeat them. These powers agreed amongst themselves to exclude the house of Saxony from the throne

throne of Poland; and place on it Prince Emanuel of Portugal: but death, by thus speedily putting an end to the schemer and his schemes, made the affairs of Poland appear to them in quite another light.

THE Imperial court, desirous of gaining Saxony, promised to support with open force the election of Augustus' son to the throne of Poland; provided he guaranteed that domestic law which Charles VI. had established in his own family; that law so well known to all Europe by the name of the pragmatic sanction. The empress of Russia, fearing lest Stanislaus Leczinski, supported by Lewis XIV. might again ascend the throne of Poland, declared herself the protectress of the fortunate Augustus. Of all the candidates to this throne, Stanislaus was the prince, the electing of whom best suited the interests of Prussia. France bestirred herself to prevail on the king to march a body of troops into Polish Prussia, and hold it by way of sequestration, as he had done Pomerania. But Frederic-William was not for leaving any thing to chance: he did not chuse to embark in a war, which might carry him to great lengths, and keep his forces distracted at a distance from the place where
they

they would be most wanted, should the elector Palatine, now far gone in years and infirm, suddenly depart this life. Besides, he thought his claims to the succession of Juliers well founded, and the proposed enterprise on Polish Prussia unjust. The diet of election, held at Warsaw, unanimously elected Stanislaus king of Poland; in spite of all the intrigues of the Courts of Vienna and Petersburg, and the Russian and Austrian armies, which threatened the republic. Some palatines, in the interest of Saxony, crossed the Vistula, assembled in an inn, and there elected for their king, Augustus, elector of Saxony. Upon this, the Russian troops drew near Warsaw; a storm came on; and Stanislaus was once more obliged to quit a throne, to which the voices of a free nation had called him.

Anno 1734.

He took refuge in Dantzic; where Munich, at the head of the Russian and Saxon troops came to besiege him. A Polish lady, called Massalska, fired the first gun from the ramparts, in order to excite the inhabitants to a generous

nerous defence. Lewis XV. sent three battalions to the assistance of his father-in-law ; but they came too late to save Dantzic, and too soon for their own safety. The marquis de Plelo, who commanded them, was killed ; and the troops not being able to find subsistence in an island, on which they had been just landed, nor recover their ships, were made prisoners, and conducted to Saint Petersburg *. The Russians then attacked the works of Hagelsberg, where they lost four thousand men. The town, torn by intestine dissensions, and having no prospect of assistance left, now began to think it high time to capitulate. In this extremity, Stanislaus thought proper to make his escape out of it, at the eve of its surrender : during his flight he suffered every kind of hardship in the highest degree : at length, after running a thousand hair-breadth scapes from the Russians, who

* All this is not true. It is true, that the count de Plelo came with these three battalions, but he neither conducted nor commanded them. The French did not fall short of provisions. It was not after their capitulation the Russians attacked Hagelsberg, but before ; nay, the eve of their arrival. The Russians did not lose four thousand men in this affair, but only twenty-six hundred.

who pursued him, and the most singular adventures, he had the good fortune to reach Marienwerder, in the disguise of a peasant ; and thence repaired to Konisberg, as soon as the king had assured him of his protection.

FROM Poland, the fire of war spread over all Europe. As soon as the court of Versailles received advice of the emperor's assembling a body of troops near Glogau, and of the Russians having entered the territories of the republic, she declared war against the emperor. In the manifesto published by her on this occasion, she protested, that it was the emperor alone, and not the empire, she meant to attack ; but by an absurdity, which cardinal Fleury might have easily avoided, the French armies, after passing the Rhine at Strasburg, took Kehl, a fortress belonging to the empire. The enemies of France availed themselves of this blunder ; and artfully drew from it conclusions to the prejudice of a power, which it was their interest to render obnoxious. During these troubles in the North, others broke out in the South : the French troops joined those of the king of Sardinia, near Vercell, in Italy ; took Padua, Milan,

lan, Pizzighitone, and Cremona. The marquis de Montemare joined the allies; and the Spaniards made preparations to conquer the kingdom of Naples.

ENGLAND had no hand in this war; but then she was on the point of being equally shaken by domestic troubles. George II. had formed the scheme of rendering himself absolute in Great Britain: but this was not a thing to be compassed by open force; but privately, and by bye-methods. To introduce the excise in England, and fetter the nation, would have been one and the same thing; since it would give the king a sure and stated revenue; with which he might have augmented his forces, and confirmed his power. Walpole having proposed the introduction of the excise to some members of the parliament, on whom he thought he might depend, they declared, that what pay they received from him, was for subscribing to their usual run of extravagances, and not to such an extraordinary one as that for which he now required their votes. Notwithstanding these representations, Walpole moved the affair in parliament; and harangued with so much eloquence,

quence, as to carry his point, in spite of Pultney and the cabal which opposed the court: his victory appeared so compleat, that the bill for the excise passed by a great majority. The next day, there had like to have been an insurrection in the city: the lords and the principal traders addressed the king, to desire the suppression of the bill. Though care had been taken to surround the house with guards, the populace gathered about it in great numbers; filled the air with their seditious cries; and even began to insult the king's officers; insomuch that nothing was wanting but a head to make an open rebellion. Walpole, who now saw that this was like to become a serious affair, thought it high time to pull in. He immediately cancelled the bill, and issued from the parliament disguised in an old cloak, and crying out, *Liberty, liberty, and no excise!* He found the king at St. James's, arming himself cap-a-pee; he had already put on the beaver he had worn at Malplaquet; was trying the sword with which he had fought at Oudenarde; and was for putting himself at the head of his guards, assembled in the court of the palace, in order to support with firmness
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his excise scheme. Walpole had much-a-do to moderate his impetuosity: he represented to him, with all the generous boldness of an Englishman attached to his master, that this was no time for fighting; but to chuse between the bill and the crown. At length the excise scheme fell to the ground; and the king, greatly dissatisfied with his parliament, began to think more reservedly of his authority, of which he had like to have made so sad a trial. It was these domestic troubles which hindered England from intermeddling this time in the war of Germany.

Anno 1734.

WE have taken notice, that Kehl had been taken by the French, and the war now openly declared. The emperor, to whom France had given so fine a handle, found no difficulty in making the empire declare in his favour: he required of the king, the succours stipulated by the alliance of 1728; and threatened, in case of refusal, to retract the guarantee of the duchy of Berg.

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THE king, who had remained neuter with respect to the troubles in Poland, though strongly solicited by his own interest to declare in favour of Stanislaus, now, contrary to his interest, declared for the emperor. Honesty, with him, was the best policy. Most scrupulously true to his engagements, he never listened to his ambition or his interest, when called upon to fulfil them. Agreeably to these principles, he ordered ten thousand men to the Rhine; who served during the war under Prince Eugene.

IN the beginning of spring, marshal Berwic forced the lines of Etlinghen, which the duke of Bevern had caused to be thrown up the winter before; and from thence proceeded to lay siege to Philipsburg. Eugene, who had scarce twenty thousand men to oppose him, retreated to Hailbron, to wait the arrival of the reinforcements that had been promised him. He afterwards marched back, and took post in the village of Wisenthal, within cannon shot of the French intrenchments. The king repaired to the imperial camp, with the prince royal; not only to gratify his curiosity, but his affection
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for the troops, which knew no bounds: and there saw, that heroes have their wane, like other men. It was but the shadow of the great Eugene, which now commanded this army. This great general had out-lived himself, and was now afraid of exposing his reputation, so solidly established, to the chance of an eighteenth battle. A daring young warrior would have attacked the French intrenchments; which were scarce begun, when the imperial army reached Wisenthal. The French troops lay so near Philipsburg, that their cavalry had not room enough to form between the town and their camp, without being exposed to a smart cannonade: they had but a single bridge of communication on the Rhine; so that had their intrenchments been forced, the whole of the French army, having no retreat left, must have unavoidably perished. But the fate of empires would have it otherwise. The French took Philipsburg in the face of prince Eugene's army, without his once daring to molest them. Marshal Berwic was killed in the trenches, and succeeded in the command by marshal D'Asfeld. The king, whose health was now ruined by the fatigues he had endured, was seized with a dropy; which obliged him to quit
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the army : and the rest of the campaign was spent in marches and countermarches ; of so much the less consequence, as the Rhine separated the two armies.

IN Italy, the French took Tortona, beat marshal Merci at Parma, and made themselves masters of almost all Lombardy. In the mean time, prince Hilburghausen suggested to marshal Konigseck a project for surprising the French army, then encamped on the banks of the Secchia ; and it was so well executed, that Coigni and Broglio were attacked by night, surprised, and routed. This fault of theirs was so well repaired, by the good conduct of the King of Sardinia, that the allies obtained a victory at Guastalla over the Austrians.

DON CARLOS at the same time entered the kingdom of Naples, and received the homage of it. Montemare confirmed his throne, by winning for him the battle of Bitonto. Visconti, and the Austrians were driven out of the kingdom : and Montemare, after conquering Naples, set about the conquest of Sicily, took Syracuse, and

and made himself master of Messina ; which capitulated after a tolerable good defence.

Anno 1735.

IN Lombardy, the Austrians were likewise beaten at Parma ; on the Rhine, the campaign was still more barren in events than it had been the year before. The Imperial army was reinforced by ten thousand Russians. The bustling Seckendorf, having obtained from Prince Eugene a detachment of forty thousand men, marched with them to the Moselle, and came up with the French army near the abbey of Clauzen : night spread such confusion and alarm in the two camps, that the troops charged on both sides, though no enemy appeared to molest them. The day following, Coigni repassed the Moselle, and encamped under Treves : Seckendorf pursued him ; but before they could come to blows, news was brought them, that the preliminaries of peace between the emperor and the king of France were signed. This negotiation had been privately carried on by the count de Wied and the sieur de Theil : they agreed, that Augustus
should

should be acknowledged king of Poland by France ; that Stanislaus should renounce all his pretension to that throne, in consideration of the duchy of Lorrain, which he should enjoy, and France after him ; that the duke of Lorrain, son-in-law to the emperor, should have Tuscany, instead of Lorrain. Moreover, the emperor acknowledged Don Carlos for king of the two Sicilies ; and accepted the duchies of Parma and Placentia as an indemnification for these kingdoms : he was likewise obliged to cede the Vigevanesque to the king of Sardinia ; and in consideration of his doing so, Lewis XV. promised to guaranty the pragmatic sanction.

THE emperor and the king of France made this peace without consulting their allies ; and even neglected their interests.

THE king complained, that the court of Vienna had taken no measures with that of Versailles to secure the succession of Berg. This prince had got the better of his dropsy ; but his bodily strength was too much wasted to second any longer the operations of his soul. He lived, however,

however, long enough to enjoy the prosperity of a new colony, which he had settled in Prussia. Since the year 1732, no less than twenty thousand souls had deserted the bishoprick of Saltzburg, through zeal for the protestant religion. The bishop had more fanatically than prudently persecuted some of these wretches. A rage of emigration seized the people, and became epidemical ; so that, at last, they began to leave this country more through a spirit of libertinism than attachment to any particular sect. The king settled these Saltzburghers in Prussia : and, without examining into the motives of their desertion, re-peopled by means of it those countries which the plague had made such a desert, during the reign of his father.

Anno 1736.

THE general war we have been speaking of was scarce over, when a new one broke out : it took its rise between the extremities of Europe and Asia ; where the Tartars, being under the protection of the Turks, used to make frequent irruptions into Russia. The representations made

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on the occasion by the Russian minister at Constantinople, not having weight enough to put an end to these insults, the Czarina at length grew tired of suffering them, and did herself justice. Lasçi marched against the Tartars, and took Asoph. Munich entered the Crimea, forced the lines of Prekop, made himself master of the place itself, took Baciefary, and laid all Tartary waste with fire and sword. In the mean time, multitudes of the Russians perished for want of water and provisions, and by the scorching heat of the climate; Munich's ambition being such, that he did not care how many men he sacrificed to his glory: but, at length, the hardships the Russians had to endure, wore them down to such a degree, that scarce any difference could be observed between the conquerors and the conquered.

ON the death of the last duke of Courland, of the house of Kettler, which happened about this time, the states elected, for the second time, count Saxe; but the empress of Russia raised to that dignity Biron, a Courland gentleman, who had attached himself to her person, and had no other merit but the happiness of
being

being agreeable to her. In the mean time, her arms continued to triumph over those of the Turks. Munich laid siege to Oczakoff, which was defended by three thousand janissaries and seven thousand Bosniacs. A bomb he had ordered to be thrown into the place, having accidentally set fire to the principal powder-magazine, it immediately blew up, and demolished most of the houses: Munich seized the opportunity, and ordered a general assault. The Turks, unable to recover themselves, or fight on narrow ramparts contiguous to buildings all in flames, were for some time at a loss what course to take; whether to endeavour to stop the conflagration, or repulse the Muscovites. In this confusion, the besiegers entered the place sword in hand; and the lawless soldiers committed in it every cruelty which might be expected from their blind fury.

THE first successes of the Russians against the Turks had awakened the ambition of the Austrians. The emperor was made to believe, that this was a fine opportunity to attack the Turks on the side of Hungary; that, if the Muscovites continued to press them at the same time on

the side of the Black Sea, the Ottoman empire would be undone: nay, prophecies were propagated, importing, that the period fatal to the Crescent was now at last arrived. Superstition acted in her turn: the confessor of Charles VI. represented to him, that it was the indispensable duty of a catholic prince, to extirpate the enemy of the christian name. At bottom, all these different suggestions came from the empress, Bartenstein, Seckendorff, and the prince of Hildbourghausen, who had combined together, and secretly put all these springs in motion. Thus was the emperor brought, without any sufficient motives, but merely by court hatreds and intrigues, to resolve on a war, in which he afterwards wondered, in a manner, how he came to be embarked. The grand duke of Tuscany, formerly duke of Lorrain, was created generalissimo of the Imperial armies; Seckendorf commanded under him; or, rather, Seckendorf commanded in chief. In the beginning of the campaign, the Imperialists took Nissa: but here their good fortune forsook them. The prince of Hildbourghausen got himself beat with a detachment which he commanded at Bagnaluca. Kevenhuller raised the
siege

siege of Widdin, and was closely pursued by the Turks; who passed the Timoc, and fell on his rear. The Toft Bacha retook Niffa; and the emperor had Doxat beheaded for not defending it well. The queen of England died towards the end of this year. She had enjoyed some reputation, owing to the goodness with which she honoured men of letters.

Anno 1738.

THE next campaign proved unfortunate to both the Muscovites and the Austrians. Munich attempted in vain to force his way into Bessarabia, on the side of Bender. This country had been wasted by the Tartars; so that he could not penetrate into it, without exposing his troops to the same misfortunes the Swedes had before suffered there. The plague, which raged to a great degree at Oczakoff, obliged him to abandon that place; whilst Lasçi found it impossible to make any progress in Crimea. The emperor, dispirited by this ill success of his arms in Hungary, began to regret the great Eugene, who died in the year 1737, and to whom he was indebted for the glory of his reign. *What*

then, he used to cry out, is the fortune of the state buried with this hero? However, soured as he was by his losses, he threw all the blame on his generals.

SECKENDORF was clapt up in the castle of Gratz, and Konigsec promoted to the command of the army in Hungary. The Imperialists were beaten in several rencounters; the Turks took Old Orsova and Meadia; laid siege to New Orsova, but afterwards raised it, having met with a repulse at Cornia: but Konigsec, who imprudently retreated after his victory, gave them an opportunity to renew the siege of that place, which held out but a short time; and by its surrender, put the Turks in possession of all the heavy artillery belonging to the emperor, which happened to be laid up in it. There happened another battle at Meadia, as indecisive as the first; in which, however, the Imperialists were worsted.

Anno 1739.

THE emperor, enraged at his losses, did not know who to blame for them. He punished his

his generals, instead of condemning, as he ought, the military projects concerted for them. It was evident, from the event of all the former wars in Hungary, that no army ever quitted the banks of the Danube, without suffering severely by it; as in doing it, they gave up their subsistence. When prince Eugene commanded against the Turks, he never divided his army; whereas in these modern times, the rage which infected all the generals of any credit at court, of commanding separate bodies, caused the whole army to be divided into such small detachments, as to be no where formidable. The good old maxims were neglected, and the generals the more to be pitied, as the court was perpetually perplexing them with contradictory orders. Konigseck was stript of the command, as his predecessors had been; and, to console him for the loss, made grand master of the empress's household.

OLIVER WALLIS was pitched upon to succeed him. This marshal, in a letter he sent to the king on this occasion, says, "The emperor has entrusted me with the command of his army: he who headed it first is in prison; my immediate predecessor has

F 4

" been

“ been made an eunuch of the seraglio : for my
 “ part, what can I expect but to lose my head
 “ when the campaign is over ? ”

THE Imperial army, composed of sixty thousand men, assembled near Belgrade : that of the Turks was twice as numerous. Wallis marched up to the enemy, without well knowing their strength ; and, without making any disposition, led his cavalry by a hollow way against a large body of janissaries, posted amongst vineyards and hedges, near the village of Krotzka ; and was defeated in it before his infantry could get to his assistance : they too were led to the slaughter with the same indiscretion ; so that the Turks could fire on them from under cover. About sunset, the Imperialists retreated, leaving twenty thousand dead behind them. If the Turkish army had pursued them, there would have been an end of Wallis and all the troops he commanded. This marshal, stunned by his misfortunes, instead of recovering his spirits, added to his faults. Though Neuperg had joined him with a large detachment, he did not think himself safe, till he got into the intrenchments of Belgrade ; and even these he abandoned, to
 repass

repafs the Danube at the approach of the grand vizir. The Turks who met with nothing to oppose them, laid siege to Belgrade.

THIS ill success of the Imperialists happened to be balanced by the progress of the Russians. The Muscovite army, more fortunate under the command of Munich, beat the Turks near Cochzim; took that place, and penetrated by Moldavia into Walachia, with a view to join the Imperialists in Hungary. But the emperor, discouraged by his misfortunes, and a war from which he reaped nothing but disgrace, had recourse to France to mediate a peace. M. de Villeneuve, the French ambassador at the Porte, repaired to the Turkish camp; and the Russians, alarmed at it, sent an Italian there called Cagnoni.

MARSHAL NEUPERG was charged with this negotiation, which the emperor and the duke of Tuscany were equally impatient to see brought to an issue. The marshal had orders to conclude a peace at any rate. He was indiscreet enough to repair to the Turkish camp without the usual sureties, and without those passes

F 5

which

which it is usual to require on such occasions. He was made a prisoner; and, being seized with fear, signed the peace with precipitation. This indiscretion of his cost the emperor Servia and the town of Belgrade. Cagnoni's firmness took effect on the visir: he had the address to conclude at the same time a peace for the Muscovites; the conditions of which were, that the empress should restore Asoph, and all her conquests.

OLIVER WALLIS was not much out in his prophecy; he was shut up in the fortress of Brin; and Neuperg, still less blameable, conducted to that of Glatz. This officer, besides the instructions given him by the emperor, had positive orders from the grand duke to accelerate the peace as much as possible; as this prince was apprehensive lest the emperor, his father-in-law, by happening to die before it was made, should leave him involved in more quarrels than he had strength to maintain, concerning the succession to his hereditary dominions.

A NEW war soon broke out in the South, between England and Spain, on occasion of the contraband trade carried on by the English merchants in the ports of the Spanish monarchy. The matter in dispute might amount to about fifty thousand pistoles a year; and the belligerent parties spent ten millions each to support their right to it. The king had taken no share in any of these wars; he had neither lent troops nor received subsidies from any of the powers concerned in them: besides, since the fit of the dropsy, with which he was seized in the year 1734, he lived entirely by art. Towards the end of the present year, his health declined greatly: in this valetudinary condition he entered into a convention with France; from whom he obtained the guarantee of the duchy of Berg, except the town of Dusseldorp, and a district about a mile in breadth along the banks of the Rhine. He put up the easier with this partition, as he no longer found himself active enough to hope he should be able to make more considerable acquisitions.

Anno 1740.

HIS dropſy, at length, encreaſed to ſuch a degree as to carry him off the 31ſt of May, 1740: and he met death with all the reſolution of a philoſopher, and all the reſignation of a chriſtian. He retained the moſt admirable preſence of mind to the very laſt moment of his life; ordering his affairs as became a ſtateſman, examining the progreſs of his diſorder with the ſkill of a naturaliſt, and triumphing over death like a hero. He had married, in 1707, Sophia Dorothea, daughter to George of Hanover, who ſince ſucceeded to the Britiſh throne. The children of this match were Frederic II. who ſucceeded him, the three princes Auguſtus-William, Lewis-Henry, and Ferdinand; Wilhelmina, margrave of Bareith; Frederica, margrave of Anſpach; Charlotta, duchefs of Brunſwic; Sophia, margrave of Swed; Ulrica, princeſs royal of Sweden; and Amelia, abbeſs of Quedlinbourg.

THE miniſters of Frederic-William made him ſign forty treaties or conventions, which we thought

thought too frivolous to mention : they had so little of their master's moderation in them, as to think less of his dignity than the perquisites of their office. We have likewise passed over in silence the domestic chagrins of this great prince : the virtues of such a father entitling his children to some indulgence. The king never made any distinction between sound policy and strict justice ; he thought less of making new acquisitions, than of governing well his old possessions. Ever armed for his own defence, and never for the disturbance of others, he always preferred the useful to the agreeable ; building with profusion for his subjects, at the same time that he grudged the smallest expence to lodge himself. Circumspect in his engagements, faithful to his promises, austere of manners, rigorous in regard to those of others, a strict observer of military discipline, governing his dominions by the same laws with his army, he thought so well of human nature, as to expect that his subjects should be as great stoics as himself.

FREDERIC-WILLIAM left behind him an army of sixty-six thousand men, whom his
great

great œconomy enabled him to maintain his finances increas'd ; the public treasure full ; and the most surprizing order in all his affairs. If one may truly say, that it is to the acorn, from which it sprung, we are indebted for the shade of the oak, the whole world must allow, that it is in the labours and wisdom of this prince, we must look for the sources of that prosperity which the royal house has enjoyed since his death.

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Of the A R M Y, since its Establish-
ment, to the End of the Reign of
FREDERIC-WILLIAM.

THE first electors of the house of Brandenburg had no regular army; they contented themselves with a horse-guard, consisting of one hundred men, and some companies of lansquenets, distributed amongst their castles or strong holds; the number of which they occasionally encreased or reduced: when threatened with war, they and the states assembled the arriere-ban; which was, as it were, a general arming of the whole country; the nobility formed the cavalry, and their vassals, distributed into regiments, the infantry, of this body.

THIS

THIS method of raising troops and forming armies was then common to all Europe: the Gauls, the Germans, and Britons had always used it; and it is still in use among the Poles, who call it the Rucheni Pospolite. The Turks too, like the Poles, have kept it up, all to their maintaining constantly a regular body of thirty thousand janissaries: they never go to war without arming such of the nations of Asia Minor, Egypt, Arabia, and Greece, as are subject to them.

To return to the history of Brandenburg: When John Sigismund thought himself on the eve of succeeding to the duchies of Juliers and Berg, aware that he should be obliged to support his claims to them by force of arms, he gave orders for a general armament of seven hundred and eighty-seven horse, who were at the place of meeting; and picked out four hundred of the most alert: besides, the nobility supplied him with a thousand foot, exclusive of the pike-men; the command of whom was given to colonel Kraitscht: to these troops the towns added two thousand six hundred men. These troops were maintained at the expence

of

of the states, and seldom received pay for more than three months together; which expired, every man returned to his own home: the elector appointed the officers: those troops were never kept on foot longer than there was occasion for their service; that over, they were absolutely disbanded.

THE tempestuous regency of George-William affords us some instances of this kind of armaments.

IN 1620 *, when the states raised troops on occasion of the Thirty Years War, they gave them leave to provide for their subsistence by making collections all over the country: the peasants were ordered to give them a farthing every time they applied for relief, and a sound drubbing if they did not put up with it. What could so ridiculous a regulation produce? Instead of soldiers, the prince got nothing but a body of common beggars by it.

IN 1623, the court issued an edict, enjoining all its subjects, priests and sheriffs only excepted,

* Sebaldus's Chronicle.

cepted, to assemble, with arms and baggage, at a certain place; where they were to be reviewed by commissaries appointed for that purpose; who picked out three thousand nine hundred of them; and divided them into five-and-twenty companies of foot, and ten squadrons of horse.

Anno 1635.

AFTER the peace of Prague, the Count de Schwartzenberg persuaded George-William to augment his forces, and maintain them with the subsidies which the Spaniards and the emperor were to pay him: this minister's plan was to augment them to five-and-twenty thousand men.

Anno 1638.

THESE forces were accordingly levied, and took an oath of fidelity to the emperor and George-William. The following is the list of them, taken on their passing in review at Neustadt Eberswalde.

INFANTRY.

CAVALRY.

INFANTRY.

INFANTRY.

Rank of the command- ers.	Names of the regiments.	Number of the men.
General	Klitzing	850
	Kraßficht	960
	Burgsdorff	1300
	Dargitz	700
	Wolkman	700
	Didier Kraßficht	660
	Rochow	980
	Mintzich	550
	Waldow-Ker- berg	1300
	Total of infantry	8000

CAVALRY.

Rank of the command- ers.	Names of the regiments.	Number of the men.
Colonels	{ John Rockow	500
	{ Erentreich-Bur- godorff	500
	{ Pothausen	500
	{ Schapelow	350
	{ Goldecker	160
	{ Erickson	350
	{ Worhaver	190
	Dragoons	350
	Total of cavalry	2900

KLITZING,

KLITZING, who commanded this body, is the first general mentioned in the history of Brandenburg: these troops were occasionally augmented and reduced, as the necessity of employing, and the means of subsisting them, required; but they never exceeded eleven thousand men. George-William left his son the following forces.

INFANTRY.		CAVALRY.	
Names of the regiments	Number of the men	Names of the regiments	Number of the men
Burgsdorff	800	Goldecker	900
Kraetfcht	600	Ludecke	600
Wolkmann	800	Rochow	1000
Trotta	1200		
Goldecker	200	Total of horse	2500
Total of foot	3600		

FREDERIC-WILLIAM came to the electoral dignity in a time of distress: to ease his territories, exhausted of men and money, he made a reduction in his troops: the cavalry, on refusing to take the usual oath, was disbanded; and the elector, to make a merit of it in the eyes of the emperor, made him a present of two thousand

and horse. He kept himself but two hundred troopers, and two thousand foot, which formed the Burgsdorff, Trotta, and Rebeck regiments of guards.

THIS same prince was the first elector to maintain a regularly-disciplined body of forces: the battalions of infantry were composed of four companies, of one hundred and fifty men each; one-third armed with pikes, the rest with muskets: their cloathing was uniform, and cloaks made part of it: the cavalry found their arms and horses; they wore an half armour; fought in squadrons; and often took cannon into the field with them.

IN 1653, a dispute arising between the elector and the palatine of Neubourg, about the succession of Cleves, the former augmented his forces: he raised fifty-two troops of horse, and eighty-two of foot. Count Wittgenstein went over to his service with the regiments of Wittgenstein, Storkau, and Osten, horse; and those of Pissart, Hanau, and Maillard, foot.

As

As soon as the elector made up matters with the Palatine, he disbanded most of his forces,

Anno 1655.

THE war which broke out soon after between Charles-Gustavus and the republic of Poland, gave room to a new augmentation: the elector, supported by Swedish subsidies, made the greatest efforts to raise a formidable army. According to the archives, the cavalry alone amounted to fourteen thousand four hundred horse. This might appear an exaggeration, were it not for the names of the several bodies composing it, and their commanders, all upon record; to wit: the guards; the generals Waldeck, Cannenberg, Dorffling; the colonels Lothum, Spahn, Siegen, Manteuffel, Schenck, Wohlrath, Strantz, Reinau, Hall, Ellert, Quast. Dragoons, Waldeck, Canitz, Kalckstein, Lesquevant, Lehdorff, Sack, and Schlieben.

As the elector intended to attack the Poles, whose principal force consists in cavalry, he was, perhaps, for opposing to them the same

army

arms they themselves used, and a body capable of inspiring them with some respect.

His infantry amounted to ten thousand six hundred men; and consisted of the regiments of foot-guards, commanded by Sparr, grand master of the artillery, Waldeck, Grohte, count de Waldeck, Kalckstein, Klingsporn, Taubenhof, Gotz, Hught, and Ellenberg. During the whole course of the war which this prince carried on in Poland, in conjunction with the Swedes, Waldeck commanded the troops under him, in quality of lieutenant-general.

PART of this army followed the elector into Poland; the rest was distributed amongst the provinces.

WHEN Frederic-William had made up matters with the Poles, he assisted the king of Denmark, then besieged in Copenhagen by Charles Gustavus; he marched in person into Holstein, at the head of four thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, half of them cuirassiers belonging to the emperor.

AFTER

AFTER the peace of Oliva, the elector made another reduction in his troops ; but not so considerable as the former. He still retained in his service a great number of generals ; which proves that he must have had men in proportion. Marshal Sparr was the first to bear that title in the service of Brandenburg. The generals now in his pay were, Dorffling, grand master of the artillery ; the lieutenant-generals, prince John-George of Anhalt, count Dhona, baron Cannenberg, and M. Goltz ; and the major-generals, M. Phuhl, Bar, Gorschen, Quärt, Ellert, Spahn, and Trotta.

WHEN the war broke out in 1672, the elector had on foot twenty-three thousand five hundred and sixty-two men : the army he led into Alsace to the emperor's assistance, consisted of eighteen thousand fighting men. He afterwards augmented his troops to six-and-twenty thousand ; and employed them in his glorious campaigns of Pomerania, which he conquered, and of Prussia, out of which he drove the Swedes.

AT the accession of Frederic-William the troops were ill paid, and ill kept up: this kind of confusion lasted to the year 1676; when Grumkou, minister of the finances, established the excise in the towns: this sure and permanent revenue was appropriated to the payment of the troops. The pay of the common men was now a crown and a half a month; that of the officers was pretty slender.

DURING the war of Poland, and that of 1672, Frederic-William maintained his troops at one time by means of the subsidies he received from the Swedes, and at others by means of those he received from the Austrians, the Spaniards, and the French. But from the year 1676, the augmentation of his revenues by means of the excise, the duchy of Magdeburg, which he obtained possession of, and the improvement of his provinces, which were insensibly getting the better of the calamities brought on them by the Thirty Years War; all these resources, I say, properly administered, enabled him to maintain, without any subsidies, a much more considerable body of troops.

At the death of the great elector, his army was found to consist of the following field troops :

INFANTRY.		CAVALRY.	
Names of the regiments.	Battalions.	Names of the regiments.	Sq.
Guards	6	Body-guards	2
Electres	2	Grand-musq.	2
Electoral Prince	2	Horse-grenadiers	1
Prince Philip	2	Body-regiment	3
Prince of Anhalt	2	Electoral Prince	3
Dorffling	2	Anhalt	3
Holstein	2	Dorffling	3
Spahn	2	Spahn	3
Denhoff	2	Bruemohr	3
Barfus	2	Litzwitz	3
Zitten	2	Du Hamel	3
Courland	2	Pr. Henry of Saxe	3
Beling	2		
Varenne	2	Total of squadrons	
Pollnitz	2	of Cuirassiers	32
Cournau	1	Dragoons	
Brucmohr	1	Body-regiment	4
		Dorffling	4
Total of infantry	36	Total of cavalry	40

THE garrison troops were :

COMPANIES.

At Memel	—	—	3
At Colberg	—	—	4
At Custrin	—	—	4
At Spandaw	—	—	2
At Peitz	—	—	3
At Fredericksburg	—	—	1
At Franckfort	—	—	1
Total of garrisons			18

DURING the government of this elector, the battalions consisted of four companies; the company of one hundred and fifty men; so that every battalion made six hundred men; the field infantry amounted to one-and-twenty thousand men; the troops in garrison, to two thousand seven hundred; and the cavalry, reckoning one hundred and twenty men to every squadron, to four thousand eight hundred. Thus the whole army made twenty-eight thousand five hundred fighting men.

It was usual with the infantry at this period, to fight five or six files deep ; two-thirds of the battalion were armed with German muskets, and the rest with pikes.

THE infantry, tho' but indifferently cloathed, were provided, besides the usual uniform, with long cloaks, rolled up and folded round their shoulders ; not unlike those we see in the ancient busts of the Roman consuls. The elector, when setting out on his famous winter expedition into Prussia, ordered the infantry to be supplied with spatterdashies.

HIS cavalry still wore the ancient armour compleat ; it was almost impossible they should be well disciplined, every man being obliged to find his own horse, cloaths, and arms ; from which there resulted a strange medley in the whole body. Frederic-William, it appears, preferred his cavalry to his infantry ; he fought at the head of the former at the battles of Warsaw and Fehrbellin : he had so high an opinion of them, that we often meet with them in history followed by a train of artillery. It is very obvious, that this predilection was not groundless ;
and

and that the elector, attentive to the nature of his territories, consisting chiefly of plains, and to the troops of his neighbours, particularly the Poles, which are almost entirely horse, preferred, for these reasons, his cavalry to his infantry, as being most universally useful.

It was not usual in the reign of Frederic-William to form magazines; the country which had the misfortune of being the theatre of the war, was made to find the army both with pay and subsistence: the troops never encamped but at the approach of the enemy, and when they could, or had a mind to come to blows; for which reason, they shifted the scene of action as soon as they had exhausted the country. These roving armies desolated the provinces one after another; war being protracted in proportion to the smallness of them, the cheapness of their maintenance, and the opportunities afforded the generals conducting them easily to enrich themselves by such protraction.

AMONG the generals of this elector, old Dorfling, and the prince John George of Anhalt, enjoyed the greatest reputation.

HAD the elector been ruled by the prince of Anhalt in 1673, he would have attacked Turenne, and perhaps, beat him : the prince of Anhalt passed for a cool and wise general ; and Dorfling for a brave and enterprising one ; the latter did great service to his master in surprising Rathenau, in pursuing the Swedes after the battle of Fehrbellin, and hastening the march of the troops in the expedition to Prussia. Next to Dorfling, the best of his generals were thought to be Gorschen, who surprised the Swedes in Prussia near Splitter, and Treffenfeldt, who drove them entirely out of that duchy.

THE art of fortifying places in a regular manner, as well as those of attacking and defending them, was as yet unknown. The elector had not a single engineer worth naming in his whole army ; he lost six months before Stettin, though a place of very little strength ; it was only by firing Stralsund with his bombs, that he found
means

means to make himself master of it ; the works with which he enclosed the walls of Berlin were ill constructed ; the curtains being long, and the faces of the bastions flat ; so that no one part flanked another. It is with war as it is with all other arts ; there is no bringing it all at once to perfection ; it is sufficient for the elector's honour, that in point of tactics he has left an example to the ablest captains.

THE reign of Frederic I. king of Prussia, abounds with augmentations and reductions of the army ; the foreign subsidies he received serving as a thermometer to regulate the number of them ; which was sometimes very great, and sometimes very inconsiderable.

THEY were augmented on the death of Frederic-William ; the battalions were encreased to five companies ; and seven new battalions raised ; viz. two of Lothum, two of Shonberg, and one of Sidow : the cavalry was likewise augmented by nineteen squadrons ; viz. two of the life-guards, three of Bareith, three of Schoening, four of Anspach, four of Sonsfeldt, and four of Brandt.

THE year following, viz. 1689, ten battalions and six squadrons of Brandenburgers passed over to the service of Holland : after the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, the battalions were reduced to four companies ; and the companies to eighty men ; so that eighty companies of horse as well as foot were disbanded. In 1699, the battalions were restored to their former footing of five companies each. In 1702, the regiments of Albert, Varenne, Schlabbendorff, Anhalt-Zerbst, and Sidow, were fixed at twelve companies ; and passed over to the service of the Dutch ; and continued in it as long as the Succession-War lasted. In 1704 and 1705, the king reduced all the regiments of cuirassiers to three squadrons ; and those of dragoons to four.

Anno 1713.

AT the death of this prince, his army was composed of the following regiments :

INFANTRY.

INFANTRY.

Names of the regiments.	Batta- lions.
White-guards	2
Guards	3
King's regiment	4
Marg. Albert's	2
Marg. Lewis	2
Anhalt	2
Holstein	2
Lothum	2
Dhona	2
Prince of Hesse	1
Young Dhona	2
Arnim	2
Denhoff	2
Finck	2
Varenne	1
Du Trouffel	1
Grumkow	1
Truchses	1
Heiden	1
Marg. Henry	2
Anhalt-Zerbst	1
Total of infantry	38

CAVALRY.

Names of the regiments.	Sq.
Body-guards	4
Gendarmes	1
Body-regiments	3
Prince Royal	3
Marg. Frederic	3
Wartensleben	3
Heiden	3
Schlippenbach	3
Kareith	3
Katt	3
Total of cuirassiers	29
Dragoons.	
Body-regiment	4
Marg. Albert	4
Anspach	4
Dorffling	4
Pannewitz	4
Vander Albe	4
Total of cavalry	53

Companies in Garrison 18

THESE forces might make in all thirty thousand fighting men.

AT the beginning of this present century, pikes were laid aside to make room for chevaux-de-frise. The only thing these pikes were good for was to protect the foot against the horse ; in sieges, intrenchments, and a hundred other such occasions, they were of no use ; the old officers, however, were not easily prevailed upon to give them up, having by long use contracted no small prejudice in their favour : but as the art of war is improved by making war, it was not long before matchlocks were likewise laid aside, as the matches were apt to be put out by the rain ; and firelocks adopted instead of them.

UNDER the reign of Frederic I. military discipline acquired a firm footing amongst the troops ; they greatly improved in the wars of Flanders and Italy ; the officers who served in Flanders, learned their trade of the Dutch, who were then our masters ; and contracted a taste for cleanliness and neatness from the English troops, who are so remarkable for it.

THE margrave Philip, grand-master of the artillery, was the first to affect superior tallness

ness in the choice of his men; the grenadier companies of his regiment exceeded the usual stature; the prince of Anhalt took pattern after him; and then the prince royal. From them this spirit of choice spread itself amongst the other officers; and no men were now enlisted, but such as were remarkable for extraordinary stature, strength, and robustness.

THE whole army was uniformly clothed; those, indeed, who desired to serve in the horse, paid something to be admitted; but then the crown found them in cloaths and arms.

IN the field, the foot were commonly loaded; besides their cloaks and arms, they carried their tents, knapsacks, and chevaux-de frise; and still fought four files deep.

THE prince of Anhalt, who had served with prince Eugene, not only in the empire, but in Italy and Flanders, had closely applied himself to the study of arms; he often, as we may see in the history of these times, commanded the Prussian auxiliaries, amongst whom he maintained the most strict and rigorous discipline.

Being an admirer of subordination, he enforced obedience to that degree, which constitutes the greatest strength of an army; but as he confined himself to the infantry, the cavalry was greatly neglected.

THE experience of so many officers in fortified countries, where war consists entirely in the besieging and defending of places, enriched us, at last, with the art of fortification; many of them acquired skill enough to direct trenches and attacks, and defend places when besieged.

FREDERIC I. fortified Magdeburg and Wesel after the method of Vauban and Cöhorn; he had in his service general Schoning, commandant of Magdeburg, who was well versed in this branch of the military art; and likewise Bot, who, however, was looked upon by some as a better mason than engineer.

THE wars of Flanders, the Rhine, and Italy, had formed amongst the Prussians several eminent officers. The margrave Charles, who died in Italy, acquired great glory at the battle
of

of Nerwinde. General Lothum was greatly esteemed. He commanded the detachments of the army in Flanders, and was at last killed at the battle of Malplaquet; in which the count de Finck gave proofs of his capacity; he forced the intrenchments of the French, and kept his ground in them; though the imperial cavalry had been thrice repulsed. At the battle of Oudenarde, general Natzmer, at the head of the grand musqueteers, broke through three lines of French cavalry, and did wonders.

BUT the prince of Anhalt towered above them all. Recommended to the troops by the most brilliant actions, which had acquired him their confidence, he saved Stirheim's army at Hockstet, by a fine retreat; of which I have taken notice in its place: he contributed greatly to the gaining of the second battle of Hockstet, so fatal to the French: and was complimented by prince Eugene, as the general to whom the victory of Turin was chiefly owing. This prince joined a great deal of prudence to an extraordinary degree of valour; but, with a number of great qualities, he possessed very few good ones.

SUCH

SUCH was nearly the Prussian army, and such the generals who commanded it, at the accession of Frederic-William, second king of Prussia. This prince augmented the pay of the common men, which he settled at two crowns a month; besides six gros for shirts, spatterdashes, shoes, &c.

IN the year 1714, he fixed the companies of infantry at one hundred and twenty men: in 1717, he formed the regiment of Leopold with the prisoners taken from Charles XII. and in the year 1720, fixed all the regiments of cavalry at five squadrons; each squadron consisting of two troops; and each troop of sixty men. In 1718, he formed the regiment of Schulenburg dragoons, consisting of five squadrons; and bartered twelve Japan jars for a regiment of dragoons, which the king of Poland wanted to disband. They were received by colonel Wenffen; and have been ever since called the Porcelaine regiment. In the year 1726, the horse-grenadiers of Schulenburg, Wenffen, and Platen, were doubled; so that every regiment now consisted of ten squadrons.

BETWEEN

BETWEEN the years 1726 and 1734, he added an officer to every company of foot ; raised the regiments of Dessau, Thiel, Mossel, Barleben, and the battalions of Beaufort and Krockner : he next augmented every battalion by a company of grenadiers of one hundred men : the artillery was split into two battalions ; one of which was appropriated to the field, and the other to garrison duty ; he created a body of militia of five thousand men, whose field and subaltern officers are allowed half-pay. The troops forming this militia, assembled for the space of fifteen days every year, to go through their exercise. After all these augmentations, the Prussian army amounted to seventy-two thousand fighting men. Such was the state of it on the 31st of May 1740 : when it was composed of the following troops :

INFANTRY.

INFANTRY.

Names of the regiments.	Batta- lions.
Guards	3
Prince Royal	2
Prince Charles	2
Anhalt	3
Wartensleben	2
Holstein	2
Bredow	2
Flantz	2
Didier	2
Röder	2
Grobnitz	2
Wedel	2
Marwitz	2
Lewald	2
Dönhoff	2
Glaubitz	2
Loben	2
La Motte	2
Borck	2
Schwerin	2
Derschow	2
Kleist	2
Henry	2
Zebst	2
Sidow	2
Leopold	2
Dhona	2
Götz	2
Kalckstein	2
Barleben	2
Dossow	2
Kröcher	1
Beaufort	1
Artillery	1

Total of infantry 67

CAVALRY.

Names of the regiments.	Sq.
Gendarmes	5
Prince William	5
Body-regiments	5
Carabineers	5
Budenbruck	5
Katt	5
Bredow	5
Waldow	5
Gesler	5
Frederic	5
Young Waldow	5
Eugene	5

Total of Cuirassiers 60

Dragoons.

Schulenburg gre-	
nadiers	10
Bareith	10
Platen	10
Thimen	5
Mullendorff	5
Sondsfeldt	5

45

Hussars.

Wurm	3
Brunikowski	3

6

Total of Cavalry 111

GARRISON

GARRISON REGIMENTS.

		Battalions
Artillery	—	1
De l'Hopital, at Memel		1
Wopser, at Pillau	—	1
Sack, at Colberg	—	1
Perfode, at Magdeburg		1
		—
Total of garrisons		5

THE whole army, as well horse as foot, was quartered in the towns ; and, in order to introduce and keep up discipline amongst them, the king published a military regulation for the instruction of every officer in his duty ; and took care himself to see it duly observed. All the corps were headed by officers respectable for their age and their services, who enforced subordination by their example as well as severity. The king reviewed the whole every year ; made them perform some evolutions ; and, being himself the inspector of his army, was never imposed upon in any thing relating to it.

WHEN

WHEN these new exercises were first introduced, the officers knew nothing of the easy method since found out to teach them ; and all their rhetorick lay at their cane's end ; which made it prove a very long and difficult task. Care was taken, in every regiment, to clear the corps of officers of those men whose birth or behaviour did not appear answerable to so honourable a profession as that of arms ; and ever since the delicacy of the officers has been such as not to suffer amongst them any men but those of the most unexceptionable character.

THE battalions used to be drawn up four deep, but fought only three deep ; every battalion contained four divisions, and every division two subdivisions ; the grenadiers formed a separate body.

THE prince of Anhalt, who had made war his study, taking notice that the troops did not derive all the service they might from their firelocks, contrived iron ramrods, and found means to make the soldiers load with incredible swiftness : since the year 1733, the first ranks have
always

always charged with their bayonets at the end of their firelocks.

AT this period the troops exercised in the following manner. They began by handling their arms; next, they charged in subdivisions and divisions; advanced slowly, keeping up the same fire, and retreated pretty much in the same manner; after this, they formed two squares, but such as it is impossible to form in the face of an enemy; and concluded by a very useless hedge-firing: in all these evolutions, however, the troops had already attained so high a degree of perfection, that the motions of a battalion might be compared to those of the best watch.

THE king abolished the use of cloaks amongst the infantry, and shortened their dress; and, besides, to lighten them in their march, allowed every company two horses to carry their tents and blankets.

HE likewise established, by way of precaution, magazines in all the provinces, which might serve to ease his subjects in time of scarcity, and
ever

ever yield his troops speedy and sufficient supplies of subsistence in time of war.

ABOUT the year 1730, the fury for tall men was got to such a height, as posterity will scarce credit. The common price of a man of five feet ten, Rhenish measure, was seven hundred crowns; a man of six feet fetched a thousand; and so in proportion; several regiments had no men under five feet eight; in short, the smallest men in the whole army measured at least five feet six.

To put a stop to the confusion into which the contest between the several regiments for tall men filled the country, it was parcelled out by the king, so early as the year 1733, into districts; from which they might every year draw thirty men in time of peace, and as far as one hundred in time of war. Thus, the army was rendered immortal by being put in possession of a perpetual fund for men; and it has accordingly been ever since kept up by such fund.

THE cavalry, likewise, was composed of very tall men, mounted on horses of an enormous size; they might well be compared to so many colossuses placed on elephants, without knowing how to exercise or fight: there was scarce a review that some one or another of them did not pay, by a fall, for their want of skill; they were not masters of their horses; and their officers had no notion either of the nature of war in general, or the horse service in particular; no knowledge of the ground; in a word, they knew nothing, as to theory or practice, of the evolutions proper to be made by the cavalry in time of action.

THESE good officers were so many œconomists, who considered their troops in the light of farms; which they thought themselves at liberty to make the most of they could. Add, that the long peace had bastardized the service: in the beginning of the reign of Frederic-William, they had refined on the order of the regiments, and the discipline of the army; but, as these parts of the service would admit no farther improvement, they turned their whole attention to things of no importance;

ance ; the soldier took care to make his fire-lock and his belt look always new ; the trooper, his bridle and saddle, and even his boots ; the horses mains were decked with ribbands ; and, at length, cleanliness and neatness, so useful in themselves, degenerated into a ridiculous abuse. Had the peace continued beyond the year 1740, there is reason to think, that by this time we should be buried in paint and patches ; but what was still more deplorable, the great branches of the military art were entirely neglected, and the Prussian genius shrinking from day to day, in consequence of a too close attention to trifles.

HOWEVER, in spite of all these abuses, the infantry was still respectable ; the severest discipline and exactest regularity still prevailed in it ; but the cavalry had been entirely neglected. The king, at the battle of Malplaquet, had seen that of the Imperialists thrice repulsed ; and as to the sieges of Menin, Tournay, and Stralsund, at which he likewise assisted, the cavalry had no opportunity to distinguish itself. The prince of Anhalt laboured pretty much under the same prejudices ; he could never forgive

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give the cavalry of Stirheim the loss of the first battle of Hockstet; and he considered this kind of military force as of too little importance to be depended upon: these his unlucky prejudices were so fatal to our cavalry, that they continued without discipline; and consequently proved good for nothing, when afterwards they came to be wanted.

THE officers of the foot made arms their study, and greatly exceeded in good sense and alertness those of the horse; who were almost all scattered here and there in the inferior towns: amongst the generals there were more men of bravery than ability; the prince of Anhalt was the only one amongst them fit to command an army: this his superiority he was no stranger to; and he availed himself of it as much as possible, in order to enhance his services, and maintain his ground above all the other officers.

DURING this king's reign, the fortifications of Magdeburg and Wesel were finished; and those of Stettin begun, under the conduct of
 2 colonel

Colonel Walrawe, directed by the prince of Anhalt.

THE king formed a body of thirty engineers, who learned their trade by these different works: he filled his magazines with trains of artillery for battles and sieges; and he had excellent officers for this branch of the service. His body of cadets, that inexhaustible source of officers, filled up all the vacancies caused in the army by death, and with this great advantage, that these cadets had been trained in a military school, and initiated in all the arts and sciences with which an officer ought to be acquainted.

SUCH was the progress of the Prussian military strength, to the death of the late king. To it one might apply what Vegetius says of that of the Romans; Their discipline enabled them to triumph over the craft of the Greeks, the bodily strength of the Germans, the extraordinary stature of the Gauls, and all the other nations of the earth.

Of the Ancient and Modern GOVERN-
MENT of BRANDENBURG.

BRANDENBURG, in the times of Paganism, was governed, as all Germany, by Druids : under the Vandals, the Teutons, and the Suevi, their princes were, properly speaking, the generals of the nation ; and called Fursten ; that is to say, Leaders. The emperors who reduced these barbarians, placed governors over the frontiers, called Margraves ; in order to bridle a people so warlike and proud of their liberty. So few memoirs have reached us concerning those remote periods, that, not to degrade history by fable, I shall confine myself to the government of the electorate under the princes of the house of Hohenzollern.

Anno 1412.

WHEN the burgraves of Nurenberg got footing in the Marche, the nobility and gentry, who had relapsed into barbarism during the last regencies, refused them homage; and, supported in their independence by the dukes of Pomerania, became formidable to their sovereign. The principal families, being powerful, armed their vassals; made war on each other; and even plundered the travellers on the high roads; sheltering themselves from justice in strong and clumsy castles surrounded with moats. These petty tyrants, usurping the lawful authority, trampled with impunity on the poor peasants employed in agriculture; and there being no executive power sufficient to enforce due obedience to the laws, the whole country was one entire scene of confusion and distress. The great families which started up during this anarchy, were those of Kittzow, Putlitz, Bredow, Holzenendorff, Uchtenhagen, Torgow, Arnim, Rochow, and the lords of Hohenstein; it was with those the elector Frederic I. had to deal.

THOUGH

THOUGH Frederic I. reduced them, the states still continued masters of the government: they granted subsidies; regulated the taxes; fixed the number of troops, which were now never raised but in times of extremity, and paid them: they were always consulted on the measures proper to be taken for the defence of the country, and on the administration of justice and the police.

Ano 1472.

HISTORY furnishes more instances than one of their power. The elector Albert Achilles, having contracted a debt of one hundred thousand florins, beseeched the states to take upon themselves the payment of it: for this purpose they laid a tax upon beer, but for seven years only; they afterwards encreased it; and thereby laid the foundation of what now goes by the name of Landschaft, or public bank.

Anno 1530.

UNDER the elector Joachim I. the states raised a tax on mills, on real estates, and sheep-

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walks,

walks, to maintain two hundred horsemen, whom he sent to assist the emperor against the Turks.

UNDER the elector Joachim III. the credit of the states was such, that they redeemed some manors on which he had borrowed money, on condition that neither himself nor his successors should ever mortgage or alienate them again. The elector did nothing without their advice; and even promised to undertake nothing without their consent. The states entered into a correspondence with Charles V. and gave him to understand, that they did not chuse the elector should go to the diet of the empire: and accordingly Joachim II. made no scruple of not assisting at it.

Anno 1628.

JOHN SIGISMOND and George-William consulted them on the succession of Juliers and Berg; and the states named four deputies, who followed the court, as well to assist the electors with their advice, as to be employed in such negotiations,

negotiations, or other business, as the service of these princes might require.

Anno 1631.

GEORGE-WILLIAM consulted the states for the last time, in order to know if they approved his entering into an alliance with the Swedes, by surrendering his fortresses to them; or rather chose that he should take part with the emperor. After this, Schwartzenberg, the all-powerful minister of a weak prince, contrived to appropriate to himself all the authority both of the sovereign and the states: he, of his own authority, exacted contributions; and left nothing to the states of that power which they had never abused, but the merit of a blind submission to the orders of the court.

'TILL the reign of Joachim-Frederic, the electors had no council but the states: this prince was the first to form one; which he composed of the minister of justice, the minister of the finances, the minister charged with the affairs of the empire, and the marshal of the court; to

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whom

whom he added a president, by the name of stadtholder. From this council issued all the decrees in the last resort; all orders both civil and military; and all the regulations relating to the police: they even drew up the instructions given to the ministers of the elector at foreign courts.

As often as the elector quitted his territories for the purposes of business or pleasure, this council exercised, during his absence, all the functions attached to the electoral dignity; they gave audience to foreign ministers: in a word, they enjoyed as much authority as a council of regency could pretend to during a minority.

THE power of this council and the first minister scarce knew any bounds: the count of Schwartzenberg, under George-William, carried his authority to such a height, that it fell nothing short of that enjoyed by the mayors of the palace, under the kings of France of the first race: but the enormous abuse he made of it, gave Frederic-William a disgust for prime ministers. It appears by the instructions drawn up by this prince, that he distributed to every one
of

of his ministers a distinct department; and established two counsellors in every province to direct the affairs relating to it, and give him an account of them.

FREDERIC-WILLIAM resided at Königsberg during the first years of his government, and supplied the council, which he left at Berlin, with ample instructions adapted to the times and the present situation of his affairs. The troops received their orders from the oldest generals in the province; and the governors of strong places immediately from himself.

On the death of chancellor Gortz, that dignity was suppressed; and baron Schwerin became first president of the council. The different departments were divided in such a manner, that all affairs concerning the civil administration came before the council of justice, which had its president. The officers of the court were under the jurisdiction of the captain of the castle: the finances were administered by a chamber of domains, divided into different departments; baron de Meinders, and after him

M. Jena, had the general direction of the whole.

A CONSISTORY, composed of an equal number of priests and laymen, governed the church: besides these courts, there was a feudal chancery for the decision of all feudal matters.

Since the year 1688.

THINGS continued on pretty much the same footing under the reign of Frederic I. with this difference, that this prince always suffered himself to be governed by his ministers. Danckelmann, who had been his preceptor, became master of the state: on his being disgraced, the count of Wartenberg succeeded to his favour and power: Kamcke would in like manner have succeeded the great chamberlain, if the king's death had not put a stop to his growing favour.

Since 1713.

FREDERIC-WILLIAM II. made an entire change in the form of government: he set bounds

bounds to the power of the ministers, who from masters, that they had been to his father, became his clerks.

THE foreign affairs were committed to the care of messieurs d'Ilgén and Kniphausen: these ministers conferred with those of foreign courts, and corresponded with the Prussian ministers residing at them: but the affairs of the empire, the limits of the state, and the rights of the sovereign's house, made the principal object of their commission. Monsieur Coccei, minister of state, was charged with the general direction of justice, and acted as chancellor, having under him Monsieur d'Arnim in the department of appeals, and the civil justice of Prussia and Ravensberg. M. Katsch was placed at the head of that of criminal justice.

M. DE PRINTZ, great marshal of the court, became president of the upper consistory, and was charged with the inspection of the universities, pious foundations, canonries, and the affairs of the Jews.

OF all the branches of government, that of the finances had been most neglected: the king entirely new modelled it; he established the grand directory in 1724; this college is divided into four departments, with a minister of state at the head of each. Prussia, Pomerania, and the New Marche, with the post-office, formed the first department; which was given to M. de Grumkow. The electorate of Brandenburg, the duchy of Magdeburg, the county of Rupin, and the war-office, formed the second department; which M. de Kraut obtained. The states of the Rhine and the Weser, with the salt-works, composed the third; which was given to M. de Gorne. The direction of the principality of Halberstadt, the county of Mansfeldt, the manufactures, the stamped paper, and the mint, made the fourth; which fell to the share of M. de Vireck.

THE king combined the war-office with the finances. Formerly the bare pleading of the causes before these colleges took up all the time of forty lawyers, who composed them; to the neglect of the public affairs, it was their duty to superintend. Since the uniting of them,

them, they attend one and all to the business of the state.

UNDER these principal departments, the king established, in every province, a college of justice and another of finances, both subordinate to the ministers. The ministers for foreign affairs, with those of justice and of the finances, made their report daily to the king, who definitively decided every thing laid before him: during the whole of his reign, there did not appear the most trifling ordinance that was not of his signing; nor the most trifling instruction that was not of his drawing up.

He declared all the fiefs allodial, in consideration of a certain acknowledgment, which the proprietors were to make yearly to the sovereign. Frederic-William expended four millions and a half of crowns on the re establishment of Lithuania, and six millions more to rebuild several towns in his dominions, enlarge Berlin, and found Potzdam; he, besides, purchased lands to the amount of five millions, and added them to his domains.

THIS great regularity in his affairs, his good œconomy, and the considerable improvement he made in his revenues, enabled him to keep up the formidable army, of which I have already treated.



ADDITIONS

A D D I T I O N S
T O T H E
F I R S T V O L U M E.

Page 53. Line 1.

THESSE intercessions produced nothing. The emperor, who was entirely taken up with his personal piques, finding himself strong enough to indulge them, paid no regard to natural justice, or the liberties of the Germanic body.

THE elector and his council could now perceive that a storm was brewing, and that the complication of events, which rendered a war in a
man-

manner unavoidable, could not fail to involve them in it. On the one hand, the claims he had to the succession of Cleves; on the other, the Thirty Years War, and, besides, the religious dissensions, which had been so fruitful in cabals and powerful leagues; wars already raging, and others ready to reach his dominions; should have put George-William upon preparing to maintain them, when he could no longer ward them off. His first minister, the count de Schwartzenberg, proposed to him again and again to raise a body of twenty thousand men, which he intended should pass over to the emperor's service: but the measures taken for this purpose were so ill concerted, and the arrangements so ridiculous, that they scarce produced six thousand.

P. 55. l. 10. AND as there was some reason to think that the king of Sweden, after the example of Denmark, would join the protestant princes of Germany, whom the catholics were going to oppress, the emperor made use of this pretext to make himself pass for the defender of the empire, though he all along secretly intended to dispose, agreeable to his own private views, of
that

that duchy, the succession to which was to fall to the elector on the death of duke Bogislaus, who had no issue. Stralsund refused to submit to the Imperialists, upon which Wallenstein laid siege to it ; yet he not only miscarried, but lost twelve thousand men before it. I cannot help thinking this number greatly exaggerated, considering the smallness of the armies it was at this time usual to employ. It is very probable that the chroniclers of those times, fond of the marvellous, added something to the true number. The inhabitants of Stralsund, whose courage alone had enabled them to make this fine defence, fearing their strength might sooner or later prove too unequal to it, &c.

P. 57. l. 9. THE emperor might have answered, that as ally of the king of Poland, he was bound to assist him; that the duke of Mecklenburg would never have been deposed, had he not acceded to the league of Lawenburg; and that, in fine, an Anseatic town, like Stralsund, had no right to make any but commercial treaties with foreign kings and princes.

P. 58. l. ult. **THE** writers of those days did not give themselves much trouble about accuracy; they collected popular reports, which they afterwards published as certain facts. They did not reflect that persons in distress feel a kind of consolation in magnifying their misfortunes.

THE storm which had been some time gathering in the neighbourhood, burst at length, and overwhelmed this unhappy electorate.

P. 59. l. 10. **WHILE** the diet of Ratibon was making fine harangues on the calamities of Germany, and debating upon the means to relieve it under those miseries, and especially to prevent Gustavus Adolphus from invading the empire, this prince, &c.

P. 59. l. 15. **THE** king of Sweden, now master of Pomerania, entered into a treaty with duke Bogislaus; by which it was stipulated, that if any one should offer to oppose the elector of Brandenburg's succeeding to Pomerania on the duke's death; or Sweden should happen not to be fully indemnified for the expences of the war;
then

then that province should remain by way of sequestration in the hands of Gustavus Adolphus.

1631.

THE protestants, encouraged by the approach of the king of Sweden, held an assembly at Leipzig, to consult on their interests.

THE town of Magdeburg had already entered into an alliance with him, had granted him the use of their bridge to pass the Elbe, and, in consequence of this alliance, had driven the Imperialists out of the flat-country; but Tilly returned at the head of his army, and streightened the place with that blockade so famous in history.

THE electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, disapproving the conduct of the Magdeburghers, resolved to remain constantly attached to the emperor, and assemble their arriere-ban to oppose the Swedes.

P. 69. l. 5. THE soldiers in a body, with sword in hand, ran through the streets, and massacred

·sacred all indiscriminately, without sparing either age or sex ; either those who were in arms, or those who made not the least resistance : the houses were plundered and ransacked ; streams of blood ran through the streets, which were filled with dead carcases ; scarce any other object presented itself, but the bodies of unhappy wretches at their last gasp, heaped on one another, or stretched out quite naked : the mournful cries of agonizing persons, joined with the loud imprecations of their assassins, rent the air, and inspired te deepest horror.

P. 69. l. 19. BUT these had powerful motives to behave otherwise. The elector of Saxony flattered himself, that, in consequence of the superiority of the Swedes, he should be able to act a capital part in the affairs of the empire ; and the elector of Brandenburg, under equal apprehensions from the Imperialists and the Swedes, and therefore, for some time, at a loss which to join, at last thought the best thing he could do for the good of his states, would be to follow the fortune of Gustavus Adolphus, which then appeared so firmly established : he even sent some weak succours to the Saxons, who were pursuing

purfuing in Silefia a body of Imperialifts commanded by Balthazar de Maradas.

P. 70. l. 16. THUS fell this king, who had made the emperor tremble, who had refcued the princes of Germany from flavery and oppreffion, and who can be charged with no one vice but that of too much ambition ; a vice to which moft great men are unfortunately addicted. After his death the Swedes drove the Imperialifts out of Lower Saxony ;

P. 72. l. 3. ARNIM and Banier covered Berlin with their army : the elector, re-inforced by the Swedish troops, found himfelf at the head of an army of twenty thoufand men ; of which, however, he could fcarce call the fixth part his own : the names of the Brandenburg regiments in this army have been tranfmitted to us ; and are as follow ; Borgsdorff, Wolkman, Francis Lawenbourg, and Erentreich-Borgsdorff. With thefe troops he appeared before Franckfort, and a thoufand Auftrians who were in it furrendered by capitulation. The Imperial garrifon of Croffen marched out with white wands in their hands.

WHILST

WHILST Banier directed the military operations of the Swedes, Oxenstiern was the soul of all their negotiations.

P. 75. l. 22. SUCH was the fatality of those times, that fortune never declared entirely for either side; but, as it were to perpetuate the war, was ever unexpectedly raising those whom she had just beat down, and beating down those whom she had just raised.

THE manner in which war used to be conducted at this period, differed greatly from that in which it is carried on at present. The princes seldom made any great efforts to raise troops; they maintained in time of war, one or more armies, according to their power: the number of each rarely exceeded twenty-four thousand men: these troops lived on the country where they were employed: they were generally kept in quarters of cantonment, and never encamped till they intended to fight; which rendered the subsistence of them easy. When the emperor or the king of Sweden wanted to execute any grand project, they joined two armies together, and by that means obtained the superiority
over

over that of the enemy. The generals, who, on comparing their forces with those of the enemy, found them inferior in number, always retreated without fighting; and as they lived every where at discretion, they made nothing of quitting any one country, since they could always find another to plunder. This method of making war spun it out to great lengths; and, without deciding any thing, consumed, in consequence of its slowness, more men than the present method. Besides, the rapine and robberies committed by the troops, utterly ruined the provinces which had the misfortune to be the seat of war.

P. 79. l. 17. If he was guilty of any capital mistakes, it was in bestowing so much of his confidence on the count of Schwartzenberg, who betrayed him; and, according to some historians, had formed the project of making himself elector of Brandenburg. Schwartzenberg was a catholic: he had always sided with the emperor, and reckoned the more on his protection, as the fortresses of the electorate had been put into the emperor's hands, and the commanding officers had taken an oath to him.

him. This prince was most to blame for not raising, before the war came to visit his dominions, a body of twenty thousand men, which he was very able to maintain: these troops might have been useful to support his right to the succession of Cleves, and still more so to defend his provinces: had the elector been thus prepared, Mansfeld and the administrator of Magdeburg would never have dared to march thro' his electorate in the manner they did; the emperor Ferdinand II. would have been glad to treat him with some respect; and he might have been the ally or the enemy of the Swedes, as he liked best, instead of being, as he was, a slave to the first comer.

A STRANGE complication of events left George-William, in consequence of his not taking these precautions, nothing but a choice of faults: he was under a necessity of joining either the Imperialists or the Swedes; and being so weak, was always obliged to submit to the dictates of his allies.

P. 80. l. 12. ON the other hand, the dangers inseparable from an alliance with a foreign power,

power, the unheard-of-rapine committed by the Swedes in Brandenburg, the haughtiness of Oxenstiern, and the designs formed on Pomerania by the crown of Sweden, kept George-William from acceding to the alliance with the Swedes. Moreover, he feared, that the chief use they would make of him, might be to frustrate him of the succession of Pomerania. One time, disgusted with the roughness of Ferdinand II. he threw himself, as if through despair, into the arms of Gustavus Adolphus; another, driven to extremities by the projects of Oxenstiern, he courted the protection of the court of Vienna. Thus perpetually wavering, without strength or authority, he saw himself obliged to join the strongest, whether he liked it or not; and fortune shifting every day from the Imperialists to the Swedes, and from the Swedes to the Imperialists, took pleasure in rendering this prince the victim of his own levity; his allies never enjoying such a run of good luck, as might enable them to protect him, in the manner they ought against their common enemies.

P. 84. l. 2. THE count de Schwartzenberg,
 who saw his authority curtailed by these regulations,

lations, threw up, of himself, all his employments. He was governor of the Marche, president of the council, great chamberlain, and great commander of Malta : he had united in his single person all the important offices ; and was more absolute than even his master. Being a creature of the house of Austria, he took refuge at Vienna, where he died the same year. His son, whom he had got elected coadjutor of the order and commandery of Malta, was not acknowledged by the elector ; nay, this prince obliged him to restore all the manors belonging to the state, which his father had taken into his own hands.

P. 101. l. 9. Ferdinand III. not satisfied with assisting the Poles with his troops, was for delivering them from a formidable enemy ; he solicited Frederic-William in the strongest terms to side no longer with the Swedes.

THE elector, pressed on every side, resolved not to wait till open necessity should take away the merit of his choice : he embraced, with a good grace, the party, which, in fact, he was no longer in a condition to refuse ; and
foreseeing

foreseeing that the emperor and the king of Denmark could oblige him to renounce his alliance with the Swedes, by making an irruption into his German territories, he signed a peace with the Poles at Velau.

P. 109. l. 22. LEWIS XIV. made himself master of part of Spanish Flanders almost without resistance: the winter following he took Franche-Comté by the courage and conduct of the prince of Condé, who, envying the glory of the fine campaign made by Turenne in Flanders, was for eclipsing it in Franche-Comté. The Spaniards, thus hard driven, had recourse to the Dutch, whom they had formerly oppressed and despised; and the Dutch protected them on this occasion against the enterprises of the king of France. De Witt, pensionary of Holland, and Sir William Temple, minister from England, and Dhona, ambassador from Sweden, resolved to put a stop to the progress of Lewis XIV. Soon after, Sweden, Holland, and England, concluded a treaty of alliance at the Hague. Lewis XIV. appeased this storm, by proposing a peace to the Spaniards; and a peace was, in fact, concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The conditions of it were, that the king should keep the places he had conquered in Flanders, and restore Franche-Comté, to the Spaniards. The Dutch would have been very glad to see him restore Flanders; but all their endeavours to make him do it proved the more fruitless, as he was nettled at the behaviour of those republicans*; and the possession of Flanders could not but greatly facilitate his making them, as he intended, smart for it. The designs this prince had formed on the United Provinces were not so secret, but that something of them transpired†. Those least concerned in the event of such machinations are often the persons to see deepest into them. Frederic-William foresaw that this peace which France had concluded with Spain, might prove fatal to the Dutch; and endeavoured to divert the storm with which they were threatened. Lewis XIV. far from entering into such pacific sentiments, omitted nothing to make the elector embark in the war which he intended to make on the United Provinces. He sent for this purpose the prince of Furstenberg to Berlin; where this prince could not behold without amazement a sovereign who preferred the gratification

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* 1669.

† 1670.

gratification of friendship and gratitude, to that of the most tempting interest and dazzling ambition.

P. 113. l. 17. THE elector was advised to trust the decision of his affairs to a battle; the prince of Anhalt was of this opinion, and supported it with good reasons: he insisted, that Turenne, if he happened to be beat, would be obliged to repass the Rhine; and if he proved victorious, would not be able to pursue the vanquished, as he must thereby leave the frontiers of France at too great a distance behind him. The elector was disposed to follow this opinion. It happened to be a Sunday, and the ministers, no less afraid of the French, than jealous of the prince of Anhalt's reputation, made the preacher spin out his discourse: the sermon lasted near three hours, by which they got time enough to dispose matters so that this project was laid aside: the troops of the emperor refused to co-operate, and the elector thought himself too weak to measure his strength with the French without the assistance of his allies.

THIS prince, unable to conquer Turenne in valour, did it this campaign in generosity.

P. 115. l. 3. LEWIS XIV. had humbled the Dutch, obliged their allies to abandon them, and pinned down to a state of inaction the two houses of Austria: but he lost his conquests in Holland, before the triumphal arch, ordered to be erected on that occasion at St. Dennis's gate, could be finished. The French had occupied so many places, that it considerably weakened their armies: they had omitted making themselves masters of Amsterdam, the soul of that state: the Dutch had opened their sluices to save themselves: Turenne found himself unable to prevent the junction of the Prince of Orange and Montecuculi: all these events put together made the French lose the advantages they had gained, and laid them under a necessity to evacuate Holland. Lewis XIV. to recover his superiority in another quarter, seized Franche-Comté. Turenne * entered the Palatinate, where his troops committed the most enormous excesses. The elector Palatine, who had be-
held

* 1674.

held from his palace the burning of several villages, complained of it to the diet.

P. 116. l. 11. As Lewis XIV. attacked the empire, the resolution which the elector took on this occasion to assist it, did not clash with the engagements subsisting between him and France since the peace of Woffen.

P. 119. **DELE** this paragraph, The abbe Fouquet, &c. and insert the following note at the bottom of the page : As cardinal de Richelieu was one day pointing out on a map, to Bernard de Weimar, the place where he was to pass a river, the German general gave him, without further ceremony, a rap on the knuckles, saying, " My lord, your fingers are not a " bridge."

Ibid. l. 22. **THIS** may account for Monteculli's having contrived that the plan of the campaign of 1672 should miscarry ; and for Bournonville having been the occasion of the misfortunes which happened in Alsace. The council of Vienna, at a distance from the scene of action, suffered itself to be so scared by the loss of the

battles of Senef, Sintzheim, and Holtzeim, as to imagine that Germany would be lost by risking a fourth battle. To these causes we must add the misunderstanding between the generals of the emperor: and all of them conspired to hinder Frederic-William from making the same figure at the head of the Imperialists as at that of his own troops.

WHILST Turenne was securing the frontiers of France * by his great abilities, the council of Lewis XIV. were endeavouring to rid her of a dangerous enemy; and in order to separate Frederic-William from the Imperialists, France found means to create a diversion, which obliged him to return to his own dominions.

P. 123. l. 8. HAD post-offices been established at that time, as they are at present, it would have been impossible to surprize the Swedes in that manner; but it is the happy talent of great men to avail themselves even of the most trivial circumstances which tend to their advantage.

P. 125.

P. 125. l. 15. It is not beneath the majesty of history to record the fine action of one of the elector's equerries on this occasion. The elector was mounted on a white horse: Froben, his equerry, perceiving, that the Swedes fired more on this horse, whose colour rendered him very distinguishable, than on any other, begged his master to change horses with him, on pretence that the elector's was skittish. The elector complied, and this faithful servant had been scarce mounted a few moments, when he was killed; and thus, by his death, saved the life of his master.

P. 126. l. 16. Few captains can boast so fine a campaign as that of Fehrbellin. The elector forms a project equally grand and hazardous; and executes it with an astonishing rapidity: he surprises a detachment of the Swedes when Europe thought him still in Franconia: he flies to the plains of Fehrbellin, where the enemy was assembling: he retrieves a battle begun with more courage than prudence; and with an inferior body of horse, harrassed by the fatigues of a long march, he finds means to beat a numerous and formidable body of foot, which by its

valour had reduced the empire and Poland. We may from this exploit, guess what he would have performed, could he have had his will in Alsace. To this expedition, equally signalized by courage and success, we may apply the *VENI, VIDI, VICI*, of Cæsar: he was praised by his enemies, and blessed by his subjects; and his posterity dates from this famous day, that degree of elevation to which the house of Brandenburg has since attained.

P. 130. l. 5. YET it appears very plain that this number was magnified; whether it be that those authors were of opinion, that a siege cannot be famous but in proportion as it is attended with the loss of men on the side of the besiegers; or that they themselves were misled by false intelligence. The taking of the strongest fortresses, such as have the advantage of casemates and mines, does not cost the besieging army, though never so numerous, such a multitude of men, as this sorry intrenchment must have cost the Brandenburgers, if we give credit to those historians.

P. 130. l. 22. WHILE the military exploits of this elector were attended with a continual series of prosperity and triumphs, Lewis XIV. gave laws to Europe, and prescribed the articles of peace. In virtue of this treaty, France remained in possession of Franche Comté, which was annexed to it for ever; of part of the Spanish Netherlands; and of Friburg. After the peace had been signed at Nimeguen, the prince of Orange in vain attempted to render it void, by attacking the French to no purpose at St. Dennis, where the duke of Luxemburg was victorious, in spite of the artifice and insincerity of his antagonist. In concluding this peace, the Dutch had only their own interest in view, without any regard to that of their allies: Frederic-William upbraided them with their ingratitude, but the thing was past all remedy.

P. 151. l. 13. IN the course of this century, three men engrossed the attention of Europe; Cromwell, who usurped the sovereignty of England, and covered the parricide of his king with a great appearance of moderation, and a well-supported conduct; Lewis XIV. who made Eu-

rope tremble in his presence, patronised every kind of talent, and rendered his country respectable throughout the universe; Frederic-William, who with few or little means did mighty things, was himself at once both minister and general, and made a country flourish, which he found buried in its own ashes. None but heroic and virtuous characters can claim the title of GREAT. Cromwell's greatness as a statesman was degraded by the crimes his ambition made him commit: it would be affronting the memory of Lewis XIV. and Frederic-William to contrast their lives with that of a successful tyrant.

P. 164. l. 5. THE elector made likewise the following campaign *, and continued to supply the allies with considerable succours against France. The prince of Orange did not command this year the army of the allies in Flanders; his ambition was engrossed in another quarter, as we shall presently see, by objects which more nearly concerned him.

RICHARD, the son of Cromwell, who had more in him of the philosopher than the statesman,

man, having renounced the power which his father left him, the English with one common voice called Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors. Charles II. was succeeded, on his death, by James II. William, stadtholder of Holland, who had married James's eldest daughter named Mary, took advantage of the dislike the English had taken to their king, whose chief crime was his being a catholic. A considerable party had been long forming in England against the king: this party broke out a short time after the death of the great elector: it was then the prince of Orange undertook to dethrone his father-in-law; and resolved to owe to his arms what his intrigues were not so speedy as he could wish in procuring him.

P. 172. l. ult. **THOUGH** Frederic III. had made ready all the means necessary for procuring to his house the royal dignity, he knew his schemes might be frustrated by hurrying them; and that it would be better to wait for favourable conjunctures. We shall presently see how all the events he could wish for, combined to facilitate the execution of his designs.

P. 175. l. ult. LEWIS XIV. had at first agreed to a partition treaty with the maritime powers: Charles II. provoked at this treaty, made a will, in which he appointed his nephew, the young electoral prince of Bavaria, heir to all his dominions; but his hopes were frustrated by the death of the prince of Bavaria. Upon this, a second partition-treaty was made, which took no more effect than the first: it was ever the fate of Europe to be involved in war.

P. 178. l. 25. FREDERIC III. now at peace, took part in the grand alliance which was forming against Lewis XIV. of which king William was the soul, under pretence of supporting the just claim of the archduke of Austria: he accepted of subsidies, to be better able to keep up his prodigality and magnificence: he, besides, imagined that the succours he afforded the allies would pave his way to the diadem. As an instance of those surprising contradictions to which the human mind is subject, this prince, so vain and haughty, was not ashamed to receive alms from princes whom he considered merely as his equals. All the offers made him by France to detach him from the allies signified nothing: he
had

had taken his resolution; and found himself equally engaged by subsidies, by his inclinations and his hopes.

P. 195. l. 19. AT this period, the court of Frederic I. was full of intrigues; and the mind of this prince floated between the cabals of his favourites, like a sea disturbed by different winds: those nearest to his person were men of very mean parts. Their artifices were coarse, and their management of him awkward: they all mutually hated, and were devoured by a secret desire to supplant, each other: if they agreed in any thing, it was only in being all equally bent upon enriching themselves at the expence of their master. It was with difficulty the prince-royal concealed the uneasiness their behaviour gave him.

THE tokens of his ill will which escaped him, suggested to them the design of strengthening their credit by a new support: they persuaded the king to marry a third wife, though he was now very infirm, living merely by art, and upheld, as it were, by the remains of a good constitution, from breathing his last gasp. Mar-
shal

shal Biberstein took upon him to manage the
 business : he represented to the king, that the
 prince-royal was not likely to have any children
 by his consort, the daughter of George elector
 of Hanover, though she was actually preg-
 nant ; that it was necessary for the happiness
 of his subjects he should seriously think of
 securing successors to his dominions ; that
 he was still full of vigour ; and that in
 consequence of this match, he might be sure
 of transmitting to his posterity that crown
 which it had cost him so much trouble to acquire.
 The same arguments repeated again and again,
 by different persons, made the unsuspecting
 prince believe that he was the most vigorous
 man in all his dominions : his physicians con-
 firmed him in his inclination for a third marri-
 age, by assuring him that his constitution suf-
 fered by living single. They chose for him a
 princess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, named So-
 phia-Louisa, no way suitable to him in point
 of age, disposition, or way of thinking. Ac-
 cordingly, the nuptial ceremony, performed
 with Asiatic pomp, was the only circum-
 stance of this union that he had any satisfaction
 in : all the rest proved unhappy.

P. 204. l. 8. KAMPE's party, jealous of Wartemberg's favour, were overjoyed to be able to render the pretext of the public good subservient to his ambitious views. A young courtier of Kampe's family, who used often to play at chess with the king, found means to throw out so many insinuations against these ministers, and buzz so often the same thing into his ears, that he sent Wittgenstein to the fortress of Spandaw, and banished Wartemberg : the king could not part with the great chamberlain, whom he was exceedingly fond of, without melting into tears. Wartemberg retired into the Palatinate, with a pension of twenty thousand crowns, and died there soon after his disgrace.

P. 211. l. 3. His largesses seemed rather the effect of chance than a judicious choice : his servants were sure to make their fortunes when they had suffered by the first sallies of his passion : he gave a fief of forty thousand crowns to a huntsman, who had the good fortune to procure him a shoot at a full-headed stag. The whimsicalness of his expences strikes most, when the sum total of them is compared with that of his revenues ; and the whole of his life thrown
into

into one picture : we are then surprised to see the limbs of a gigantic body joined to shrivelled members hastening to dissolution. This prince was for mortgaging his territories in the principality of Halberstadt to the Dutch, in order to buy the famous Pitt diamond, which Lewis XV. purchased during the regency ; and made nothing of selling twenty thousand men to the allies, to have the name of maintaining thirty.



CHARACTER

C H A R A C T E R
O F
J O R D A N.

C H A R L E S - S T E P H E N J O R D A N was born in Berlin, the 27th of August 1700, of a good tradesman's family, originally from Dauphiné. His father, who had quitted his country on the score of religion, preserved that ardent zeal which, entirely taken up with the thoughts of obeying the decrees of heaven, does not always leave men at liberty to form a just and impartial judgment of the affairs of this life. He had destined the three eldest of his sons to trade; and dedicated the youngest to the church, without consulting his inclination or his talents.

Y O U N G

YOUNG Jordan's passion was for study and learning: he eagerly devoured all the books he could lay his hands upon, agreeably to that insuperable bent given him by nature, which stamps every mind with some particular impression. This was what deceived his father; who, good man, took it for granted, that a man of letters must be a minister, or a divine. In this persuasion, he sent his son to study at Magdeburg, under the eye of an uncle, one of the pastors of that place. In 1719, young Jordan removed to Geneva, where he studied under the ablest professors in philosophy, eloquence, and divinity. When he had made himself master of all the treasures of Geneva, if I may use the expression, he flew to Lausanne, in order to draw fresh supplies from new sources.

AT his return to Berlin in 1721, he was taken notice of by M. de la Croze; who was kind enough to instruct him in letters and languages. He then returned to his theological studies, through deference to his father; and after going through the degrees necessary to reach the ministerial character, was invested with it in the year 1725, and set over the little parish
of

of Potzlow, a village belonging to one of the Marches.

M. JORDAN's youth, the sprightliness of his genius, and his passion for a kind of study the very reverse of divinity, made him soon feel the greatness of the sacrifice he had made to his father's judgment. To console him for it, he was removed from his village to Prentzlow in 1727. This Prentzlow was still much too narrow a sphere for M. Jordan, who might well be compared to a Spanish courser dragging a plow. Such were his application and memory, that he soon found himself at the end of his library.

It was as impossible, as it would have been improper, for a man of his age to confine himself to the conversation of the dead ; he had a right to enjoy the society of the living. This consideration made him marry one in whom he met with these rare accomplishments, beauty, wit, and virtue : such was Lausanne Perreault, by whom he had two daughters in the five years their marriage lasted.

THE

THE same spirit which gives men a taste for letters, naturally prompts them to fill exactly all the duties of their station. The sounder a man's judgment, the clearer his ideas, and the stronger his reasonings, the more he finds himself disposed to live up to his vocation, whatever it be. It was so with M. Jordan : did any misunderstanding happen in his flock, he lost no time in preaching the words of peace, and restoring harmony. Were any afflicted, M. Jordan was the man to comfort them ; he quitted his books, his wife, every thing, in fine, which he held dearest, to restore peace and tranquility of mind to those, whom misfortunes above their strength had robbed of it. Were any sick or dying, even of that rank whom the meanness of their employments renders most contemptible, M. Jordan was likewise the man who, with a heart full of compassion and tenderness, assisted and comforted in their last hours, those who otherwise must have suffered without assistance, and died without comfort.

SUCH kindness of temper, such unalterable goodness of heart, such unwearied charity, in a word,

word, so many good qualities procured M. Jordan the love and respect of all the French, whom the revocation of the edict of Nantes had brought to Prentzlow. As he sympathized with them in their affliction and distress, they equally sympathized with him in his grief for the loss of his wife, who died in the month of March of the year 1732. The vivacity of M. Jordan's temper, and that impetuosity with which the passions act on the minds of youth, hindered him from bearing so great a misfortune with due constancy. A true picture of human frailty, which though it lets us triumph by our arguments over others, disarms us when we are to conquer ourselves. He suffered his regret to prey upon him to such a degree as to impair his health, and bring on a spitting of blood, which had like to have brought him to the same grave with his wife. His disorder changed to a settled melancholy, and he thence took occasion to give up his cure; and remove to Berlin, there to enjoy the sweets of study and retirement.

WHEN affliction springs from tenderness, it is so much the more obstinate, as we are apt to attribute it to virtuous motives. Whatever serves

serves to recal the memory of our loss, again tears open the wounds it has made, gives constancy and fidelity an opportunity of burying in them the dagger of melancholy, which time and other avocations alone can extract.

THESE considerations, joined to the solicitations of M. Jordan's relations, made him resolve on a tour to France, England, and Holland. In this excursion he did not suffer his philosophy to be debauched by the vulgar scenes of life, but made learning the only object of his attention. He was not satisfied with visiting courts, contemplating public buildings, and seeing the ceremonies and practices of these countries different from ours ; the only fruits which the levity and inconsiderateness of most young men suffer them to reap from such journies. In fact, what advantage can we derive from the local inspection of those works, which are the children of opulence, and often of prodigality ? His chief study was to know those great men, whose cultivated minds, elevated genius, and extensive learning, are the ornament of their country, and an honour to the age in which they live. I shall not mention to you the

s'Gravesandes,

s'Gravesandes, the Muschenbroeks, the Voltaires, the Fontenelles, the Dubos, the Clarkes, the Popes, the De Moivres, and so many others, whose names would require too much time to particularize. Such were the famous men whom M. Jordan made it his business to see, and with whom he was worthy of being acquainted. It was thus the Romans formerly visited Greece, and particularly Athens, in order to form their judgment and taste, in places at that time the seat of the polite arts, and the asylum of men of fine parts. It was not enough for him to gratify his curiosity, he would obey his affections: he composed a relation of his voyage, in which he does justice to the genius and other respectable qualities of those singular men, for whom he ever retained the highest esteem. How hard it is for our self-love to honour the merit of others with a pure and disinterested homage, free from all tincture of envy! The good qualities of our equals, of those especially engaged in the same pursuit with ourselves, seem to eclipse our own: and how rare it is to see men combine modesty and impartiality with great wit and learning! Yet such was the uncommon character of M. Jordan, a character which he retained

retained his whole life, and without which he could never have left that great number of friends, who honoured his funeral with the sincerest regret.

ON his return to Berlin, he again shut himself up in his study, excited by that noble emulation with which well-formed minds aspire at perfection: he read every thing, and forgot nothing of all he read.

His memory was so comprehensive as to resemble a compleat repository of all books, variations, editions, and the most curious anecdotes of that kind.

M. JORDAN's wit, his merit, but above all the goodness of his character, were too conspicuous to let him remain any longer buried in his study. The prince-royal, now king, took him into his service in the month of September 1736. The remainder of his life he spent at Reinsberg, divided between study and society, universally beloved and esteemed; and uniting the politeness acquired by human converse, to the profoundest learning, he gave the sciences

sciences a juvenile countenance, and produced them at court in the most gay and gallant colours.

ON the death of Frederic-William, the king gave him a station, in which he might make his virtues as well as his great abilities subservient to the good of his country. He appointed him of the privy-council. In this employment, M. Jordan dedicated all his talents to the use of the state. It is to him that Berlin is indebted for those new regulations which have established such fine order in it. The streets were cleared of that base and abject generation of idlers, who by their apparent wretchedness abuse the charity of their fellow-subjects. A workhouse grew up under his inspection, in which a thousand souls, who heretofore subsisted at the expence of individuals, are now made to live by the labour of their own hands, and contribute by their industry to the good of the state. The town was divided into wards, and a proper person appointed in each, to see the laws of the police duly obeyed. The academies were judiciously and discreetly provided with able professors; all

these new establishments, and the present flourishing state of our public schools, are owing to the activity of M. Jordan. In 1744, when this Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles-lettres was restored, he was elected vice-president of it.

LET it not be said, that men, by cultivating the arts and sciences, are spoiled for the world. Well-formed minds succeed equally in every thing they think proper to apply themselves to. The sciences, so far from debasing, bestow, in every station and employment, a new lustre on those who cultivate them. The great men of antiquity were formed, if I may use the expression, in the school of letters to the dignities of the state; for whatever contributes to enlighten our understanding, to improve our judgment, and extend the sphere of our knowledge, most assuredly serves to fit us for every kind of employment. Men, under such discipline, may be compared to plants cultivated with care, whose fruits and flowers are of a more refined beauty and exquisite taste than those of the trees, which left to themselves in unfrequented forests, shoot up irregularly, and whose branches wildly in-

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terwoven do not so much as yield an agreeable prospect.

WHEN, on the death of the emperor Charles VI. the king entered Silesia at the head of his armies, to recover a part of his patrimony, which the prosperity of the house of Austria had withheld from his ancestors, in spite of the clearest title, M. Jordan followed his majesty in the campaign of 1741; reconciling that sweetness which is acquired by frequenting the muses with the tumult of arms, and the dissipation to which an army in perpetual hurry and motion is unavoidably subject.

BUT neither all these distractions, nor his frequent attendance at court, could prevent his going on with the several works which he has left us; namely, a Latin dissertation on the life and writings of *Jordanus Brunus*; a collection of literary, philosophical, and historical pieces; a history of the life and writings of M. la Croze; not to mention some manuscripts, which an excess of modesty kept him from printing. It was a saying with him,

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that

that we should be able to give light to those darksome regions which envious nature appears studiously to conceal from the eyes of mankind; to inform the universe of facts equally new and interesting; or else know how to bestow fertility on barren subjects, and impart the colours and features of a Venus of Medicis on lifeless skeletons, to be entitled to employ the press, and claim the attention of mankind. His delicacy never permitted him to censure any but his own works; he even seemed to regret having let the first productions of his pen escape him, when young in life. In defiance of his self-love, he was perpetually correcting his new works, thinking it impossible to take too much pains to convince the public of his deference and respect.

NOTHING but a longer life was wanting to compleat M. Jordan's happiness. The sciences, his country, and his master, lost him by a long and painful illness, which carried him off the 24th of May 1745, at the age of forty-four and some months, without ever losing patience under sufferings, whose weight is encreased by

by their duration, and which often outgrow the strength of the firmest minds, even of those whose constancy has braved the most evident dangers.

NATURE had bestowed on M. Jordan a lively and penetrating genius, but, at the same time, capable of application : his memory was vast, and might be considered as a repository of the most exquisite productions of the good writers of every age. His judgment was sound, and his imagination, though sprightly, ever amenable to reason. Unbewildered in his fallies ; unforbidding in his morality : guarded in his opinions ; frank in his discourse ; preferring the academic to every other sect ; eager to learn, and modest to decide ; loving merit, and taking pleasure in making it known ; polite and obliging ; fond of truth, which he never concealed ; humane, generous, condescending ; a good subject ; true to his friends, his master, and his country : such was Jordan ; and, accordingly, the day of his death proved a day of mourning for all worthy men : neither envy nor malice dared to

ſpeak ill of him : the king, and all thoſe who knew him, honoured his funerals with the ſincereſt grief.

SUCH is the reward of true merit; eſteem, whiſt the owner lives, and the honour of being held out as an example, after his death.



CHARACTER

C H A R A C T E R
O F
G O L T Z E.

GEORGE-CONRAD, baron of Goltze, major-general of the king's armies, commandant of the gendarmes, commissary-general of war, intendant of Cottbus, Peitz, and Aschersleben, knight of the order of St. John, lord of Kutlau, Neucrantz, Méنتين, Henrisdorff, Pepau, Blumenwerder, Larisch, and Langenhoff, was born at Parsan, in Pomerania, in the year 1704. His father was Henning-Bernard, baron of Goltze, captain of horse in the service of Poland, and his mother Mary-Catharine of Heidbrecht. After going through the usual classes in the Jesuits college at Thorn, he removed to the university of Hall, where he finished his studies, and compleated

his acquaintance with those branches of learning necessary for a young man, whom his friends intend for an active life.

IN 1725, his uncle, the count de Manteuffel, minister of state to the king of Poland, made him engage in the service of the same prince. In 1727, he was sent to France, in quality of counsellor of embassy, with the count de Hoim; and then called back to Saxony, where he was appointed actual counsellor of legation, and lord chamberlain.

THE storms of a court full of cabals and intrigues overturned his protector, and shook his infant fortune. M. de Goltze was soon disgusted by the thorns of the walk in which he had engaged; he could see nothing before him but remarkable precipices and rapid falls from the summit of court favour to disgrace and oblivion. He, therefore, bid adieu to state affairs; and quitting the service of Saxony, chose a profession, in which it is enough to be a man of honour to make one's way.

THE reputation of the Prussian troops, joined to the love of his country, were his motives for preferring this to every other service. In 1730, he got a company of dragoons in the regiment of Bareuth. At this period it was no easy matter to be accepted from any other service into that of Prussia; undisputed merit was necessary for that purpose. M. de Goltze's behaviour amply justified the good opinion that had been conceived of him: blessed with a happy genius, and every other fine accomplishment, to be any thing, and excel in every thing, he needed only to wish it. He had scarce received his commission, when he surpassed all the officers of his regiment in exactness and vigilance; and by his application attained so thorough a knowledge in his profession, as to shew at his setting out what he would one day arrive at. It was thus Ulysses discovered Achilles by putting arms into his hands.

M. DE GOLTZE's genius could not escape the late king, who was so good a judge of men. He sent him to Warsaw in 1733, when the death of Augustus, king of Poland, opened a

vast field to intrigue, party, and dispute; the republic being tossed by the interest the several powers of Europe took in the election of a new king.

M. DE GOLTZE was not only well acquainted with the views of all the great families of Poland, but was likewise possessed of a great readiness of perception, and the happy talent of easily distinguishing truth from its appearances. The accounts he sent the king, proved so many prophecies of what afterwards happened; he read the future in the present; and executed his commission with so much dexterity, as considerably to encrease the late king's high esteem for him.

OF this the king could not give him more agreeable marks, than by affording him opportunities to distinguish himself. He pitched upon him to make the campaign on the Rhine in 1734, with the ten thousand Prussians sent to the emperor's assistance. The barrenness of this campaign proved a mighty disappointment to his youthful ardour. But superior understandings turn every thing to use. M. de Goltze

Goltze applied himself to the study of military subsistence, and in a short time outstript his masters in it.

THE year following, the king appointed him lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of Cosel; but the peace, which immediately followed, brought M. de Goltze back from the practice of war to the mere theory of it. He returned into Prussia with his regiment, and took to his former study, that of the belles lettres; a study so useful to military men, that the greatest captains have consecrated their leisure hours to it.

IN 1740, on the death of Frederic-William, the king thought proper to have M. de Goltze about his person. The war of Silesia, which immediately succeeded, gave military men the finest opportunities to distinguish themselves. M. de Goltze drew up the capitulation of Breslaw; and was dispatched to prince Leopold of Anhalt, with orders to storm the town of Glogau: he was even one of the first to scale the ramparts; and, after bringing the news of it to the king, was sent by him to hasten the

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march of fourteen squadrons, which were to join the army, and which did not arrive till after the battle of Mollwitz. M. de Goltze made use of them to pursue the enemy in their flight.

THESE services were rewarded with the lordship of Kutlau, the fief of which was become vacant. But M. de Goltze, sensible of the king's goodness, preferred the advantage of being useful to him, to that of being rewarded: laborious as he was, he could not miss of opportunities to gratify so noble a passion.

It is in war, above all professions, that activity and vigilance shine to greatest advantage. It is there that favour yields to merit, and pretence is eclipsed by talents; the nature of the business requiring the soundest and most impartial judgment in the choice of persons to transact it. For, how many springs must be at once kept a-going, to subsist and actuate the numerous armies which it is now the custom to bring into the field; armies which may be compared to nations emigrating in a body, and conquering

conquering as they travel ; but whose necessities, returning daily, are to be daily and regularly satisfied ; it being a much harder matter to defend them from hunger, than render them victorious over their enemies. The plans of the general depend, therefore, on the measures taken to feed his army ; and his greatest projects are no better than chimeras, without a proper attention to the article of purveyance. The man entrusted with this office becomes, at the same time, the depository of his secret, and thereby admitted to a share in the sublimest military operations.

BUT what abilities must not a man in this employment possess, to comprehend these vast objects, to foresee combined events and accidents, and take before-hand such measures as shall leave fortune no opening ? What fertility and intenseness of thought are not requisite, to supply in all places and at all times, not only necessities, but superfluities, to a multitude composed of restless, impatient, and insatiable men ? All these different talents, all these happy dispositions, were to be found centered in the person
of

of M. Goltze. The king intrusted him with the purveyance of his army ; and, what is still more surprising, the king's choice was universally approved.

M. DE GOLTZE resembled the Proteus of fable. In this single campaign, he served in all the different capacities of aid-de-camp, general, purveyor, and even negotiator. He was charged with an important and secret commission, with which the public has not as yet been made thoroughly acquainted ; but the public is not unacquainted with his passing from one employment to another, without shewing the least sign of the scene of his labours being changed ; for he behaved equally well in all.

IN 1742, he followed the king into Bohemia, and gave, at the battle of Czaaslau, such proofs of capacity, as convinced the best judges that genius stood him in stead of experience. He was appointed colonel at the close of the campaign, and honoured, at the same time, with the command of the gendarmes.

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THE peace of Breslaw, to which this victory paved the way, brought him back to Berlin; where, on the restoration of the Royal Academy of Sciences, he was elected an honorary member of it. He often assisted at our meetings, in which, such was the extent and variety of his learning, none of the subjects handled in it appeared new or strange to him.

IN 1743, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and the year following snatched from us by the duties of his station, on account of the war, which then broke out again. M. de Goltze served in all the expeditions of this campaign, and was of the greatest service in every one of them; his superior understanding enabling him to find subsistence for the troops, even in those places where famine might be expected to put a stop to hostility.

WE are now, at length, arrived at the finest period of his life, I mean the campaign of 1745, in which he had opportunities to display his capacity in all its extent. In the beginning of this year, the king communicated to him his plan of operations for the approaching campaign,

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which

which was to render the war offensive on his side by means of a battle, and pursue the enemy into their own territories. It was no small addition to the difficulty of M. de Goltze's task, that, not knowing on which side the enemy would act, he found himself under a necessity of making dispositions as well towards the frontiers of Moravia, as towards those of Bohemia.

EVERY one knows, that the enemy penetrated into Silesia by the way of Bohemia, and that this irruption gave occasion to the battle of Friedberg, which happened on the 4th of June. M. de Goltze fought on the right, at the head of his cavalry, and did wonders during the battle, and during the pursuit. He no sooner quit-
ted the bridle, than he took up his pen, to give orders for the disposition of the convoys which were to follow the army.

THE Prussians drove the queen's troops beyond Konigsgratz. The king crossed the Elbe, and encamped at the village of Clum, four miles beyond that town: so that the Prussians now lay at no less than forty miles from their magazines,
and

and parted from them by a chain of mountains in their rear ; without any navigable river to compensate such distance ; and in the heart of a country by the flight of its inhabitants become a mere desert. M. de Goltze conquered all those difficulties ; and though there was a necessity for drawing the whole of the army's subsistence from Silesia, nobody could perceive any unusual hurry in the arrangement for that purpose, and the troops wanted for nothing.

To examine the prodigious number of details into which M. de Goltze's employment obliged him to enter, one would be apt to think them too many for a single head. But M. de Goltze possessed the happy talent, that talent for which Cesar is so famous, of dictating to four secretaries at a time, without being wearied or bewildered by the number, weight, or perplexity of the objects which required his attention.

M. DE GOLTZE had been scarce appointed commissary-general, and intendant of Cottbus and Peitz, when he gave his master the noblest proofs of gratitude a subject can give a sovereign ; that is, he rendered him new services still
more

more important than those he had already performed.

SOME political and military considerations made the king march his army nearer to the frontiers of Silesia. His army had been weakened by three large detachments ; one of which had joined the old prince of Anhalt in the camp of Magdeburg ; the second commanded by general de Nassau had retaken the fortrefs of Cosel ; and the third under general du Moulin guarded the passes in the mountains between the army and Silesia, by which the former received its convoys. The Austrians thinking this a favourable opportunity to attack the king's army, came by night and took post on a mountain to the right of it, so as to add the advantage of situation to that of numbers, which they already enjoyed.

M. DE GOLTZE, who happened to be encamped on the same side, was the first to give the king notice of the enemy's arrival. Upon this the troops were ordered to arms, and made ready to attack them. Ten squadrons composing the first brigade, which was commanded by M. de Goltze, and two squadrons of the second,
with

with five battalions of grenadiers, were scarce formed when M. de Goltze had orders to charge.

HE had before him fifty squadrons of the queen's troops, drawn out in three lines on the brow of a mountain : yet to attack, break, and disperse them, proved but a moment's work to him. The queen's cavalry, once dispersed, and driven into the adjoining vallies, was not to be rallied again ; so that the Prussian infantry found it an easy matter to carry the principal battery of the Austrians. It was usual to exact from M. de Goltze double the service required from any other officer ; and as if the gaining of a battle was too small a day's work, he was detached with his brigade, now no longer wanted on the right, towards the left, where he fought again with equal success. The king himself bore witness to this general, that he had the greatest share in the successes of that remarkable day ; when courage supplied the want of strength, and the skill of the officers, of time to make the necessary dispositions.

THE troops, after this, entered their quarters of cantonment in Silesia ; but a new storm
soon

soon arose. The enemies of Prussia, whose frequent disappointments in their attempts to swallow us up, had served only to encrease their inveteracy, threatened Brandenburg with an irruption by way of Saxony. This scheme required new measures to defeat it. M. de Goltze applied himself to the arrangement of the supplies of subsistence necessary on this occasion, with all the zeal which could be expected in a good patriot; and outdid every thing he had before done on similar occasions.

THE expedition into Lusatia was but one continual and uninterrupted march for eight days together; during which the army was plentifully supplied with every thing. M. de Goltze then regulated the contributions with humanity and disinterestedness; and after the peace of Dresden, returned to Berlin, where he exerted his talents in the exercise of civil virtues, which rendered him as useful to the state, as he had hitherto been by his military abilities.

It is to him we are indebted for the perfection of those magazines, by which all the provinces belonging to the king of Prussia are secured from

from famine, and the still more fatal evils with which that scourge is usually attended. It is to his prudence that the royal hospital of Invalids owes the best of its œconomical regulations. It is his industry we are to thank for the new plan of caissons, ovens, and war-office boats.

M. DE GOLTZE never lost sight of the public good : he drew up instructions for the improvement of works, the draining of marshes, the forming of new villages, the proportioning of taxes, and the reformation of various abuses, on the observations made by him in the several provinces he had occasion to visit ; and many of them, by being carried into execution, have since proved of real service.

TOWARDS the end of the year 1746, he was attacked by a kind of asthma ; which his physicians, superficial in their prognostications, made slight of, according to custom. In the beginning of 1747, his disorder encreased upon him, and was followed by a pretty violent spitting of blood ; which pointed out but too late the danger of his condition. The king had admitted him into the most intimate familiarity : he loved

his conversation, always full of matter, and perpetually varied by things, some agreeable, and others useful, which he changed with all the ease that might be expected from a gay and good-natured disposition, improved by a long acquaintance with the world. His majesty visited him often, especially during the last days of his life; during which, he retained the most admirable firmness and presence of mind; dictating his last will without any apparent concern, comforting his relations, and preparing himself for death as became a philosopher, who despised the prejudices of the vulgar, and whose life, free from crime and full of virtue, left no room to repentance of any kind.

SATURDAY, the 4th of August, finding himself in the morning worse than usual, and sensible that his dissolution was approaching, he had the presence of mind to order his valet de chambre to lock his wife's apartment, who then happened to be with child. In the mean time, he was seized with a spitting of blood more violent than any he had hitherto experienced, and carried off by it.

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He married Charlotte-Wilhelmina de Grebnitz, by whom he had three sons and three daughters, whom he left very young ; exclusive of a posthumous son, of whom his wife was brought to-bed soon after his death. M. de Goltze had all the qualities of an amiable and a useful man : his understanding was just and penetrating, his memory vast, and his learning as extensive as can be expected in a man of family. Passionately fond of labour, he hated idleness : his heart was noble and virtuous ; and his disposition so generous, that he relieved a great many poor officers in their distress. In a word, he was an honest man ; a commendation too little valued in our days, tho' containing more than all the rest put together. He was possessed of all that simplicity of manners for which so many great men have been remarkable. He carried his modesty so far, as to forbid his being buried with that pomp, by which the vanity of the living thinks still to triumph over the attacks of death. The king, to honour the memory of a man who had rendered the state such important services, and the loss of whom he was so sensible of, ordered that all the officers of the gendarmes should pay an unusual compliment

compliment to his memory, by putting themselves in mourning for him.

It may be said of him with great truth, that he was one of those geniuses, three or four of whom are sufficient to render any reign illustrious. He lived long, because his whole life was spent in meditation and action. Death prevented his doing greater things. We may apply to him that celebrated stanza of Rousseau :

“ Let us not measure by the length of days,
“ Heroic lives deserving deathless praise.”

End of the MEMOIRS of BRANDENBURG.

E L O G I U M

OF THE LATE

PRINCE HENRY,

THE KING OF PRUSSIA's NEPHEW.

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E L O G I U M
OF THE LATE
PRINCE HENRY,
THE KING OF PRUSSIA's NEPHEW.

Composed by his MAJESTY, and read by his
Orders at an extraordinary Assembly of the
ACADEMY of SCIENCES at BERLIN.

GENTLEMEN,

IF a man of sense may be ever allowed to indulge sorrow, it is, doubtless, when he shares with his country, and a numerous people, the grief for an irreparable loss. The aim of philosophy is so far from being to stifle nature in us, that it is satisfied to regulate and moderate the fallies

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of passion: whilst it fortifies the heart of the wise man with sufficient resolution to bear misfortunes with magnanimity, it would censure him, were he to behold the losses and disasters of his countrymen with a stupid insensibility. Can I then remain unconcerned at the unfortunate event which disturbs the tranquillity of your days; at beholding the melancholy sight which has just struck your eyes; at seeing the triumph of death raised on the trophies of our spoils, and proud of having sacrificed to its rage the most illustrious heads amongst us? No, gentlemen, it would be criminal in me to be silent: I should be allowed to add my voice to that of so many virtuous citizens, who lament the fate of a young prince whom the gods have only just shewn to the earth. Wherever I turn my eyes, I see dejected countenances, downcast looks, the strongest expressions of grief, and floods of tears which flow from every eye; I hear nothing but sorrow expressed by uninterrupted sobs. This reminds me of the disconsolate royal family, in vain regretting, and again wishing for the amiable prince which it has lost for ever. It was not his noble birth, by which prince Henry approached the throne

so nearly, that caused this universal grief: grandeur, reputation, and power, inspire only fear, a forced submission, and respect, as vain as the idol that receives them: should the idol but fall, all the admiration is at an end, and malice defaces it entirely. No, gentlemen, it was not the work of fortune that was esteemed in prince Henry, but the work of nature, the qualities of the mind, and his own personal merit. If he had had only a vulgar soul, perhaps the public would have put on an outward appearance of grief for him for decency's sake, which would have been belied by their indifference; elaborate eulogiums might have been composed, and heard with disgust, frivolous demonstrations of grief; which would not have imposed upon the most unthinking; and his name would have been consigned to everlasting oblivion.

THIS, alas! is far from being our case at present; had he been only a simple individual, prince Henry would have won the hearts of all that approached him. Who, in fact, could resist his affable air, his easiness of access, that mildness of character which never quitted him, that tender and compassionate heart, that sublime

and elevated genius, that maturity of judgment in the age of wildness and extravagance, that love of the sciences and virtue in the heat and gaiety of youth, when most men are actuated only by an instinct of pleasure and folly; in a word, that admirable assemblage of talents and virtues which is so seldom to be met with in private persons, still seldomer amongst persons of noble birth, because their number is less considerable?

CAN there be in this assembly, any soul malignant enough, satirical enough, censorious enough, cruel enough, to presume to turn into ridicule the respectable subject of our sorrow, and to censure us for composing the panegyric of a youth who has been so soon snatched from the world, and left no traces of his existence? No, gentlemen, I have too high an idea of the national character of the people of this country to suspect that there are men to be found in it savage through insensibility, and inhuman through a spirit of contradiction: men may be ignorant of our loss, but they cannot know it without being moved with compassion. Besides, if we were to meet with such
scornful

scornful censors, how easily might we answer them!

Do they imagine that a whole people can be deceived, when at the death of a young prince they shew marks of the profoundest grief? Can they think he could acquire the favour of the public, and excite a sort of enthusiasm, without merit? Can they believe that the human race, so little inclined to approve, would give its suffrages easily, without being compelled to it by virtue? Let them then acknowledge, that this youth, who has left no traces of his existence, deserved to be regretted by us, as well on account of the hopes he inspired us with, as because we had so few princes to lose. Let us approve of the tears of the royal family, the sorrow of loyal citizens well affected to the government, and the public consternation upon hearing of so great a loss.

WHAT is it, gentlemen, that constitutes the strength of a kingdom? Is it a wide extent of territory, which requires a great number of defenders? Is it wealth amassed by opulence and industry, which owes all its value to the use that is made of it? Is it a multitude of inhabitants,

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who would destroy each other without proper governors? No, gentlemen, these objects are rude materials, which acquire value only in proportion as the skill and sagacity of men avail themselves of them. The strength of states consists in the number of great men born there at a time when they are wanted. Look into the annals of the world, and you will find, that the shining periods of empires are those in which sublime geniuses and virtuous souls, men endowed with eminent merit, have made a figure by their generous efforts to support the government. A confused notion of this truth makes the public regret the death of men of an illustrious birth, because they expected important services from them. As the loss of a tender plant, likely to produce others, and destroyed by a severe winter, is more regretted than that of an ancient tree, which has lost its sap, and whose branches are dried up; in the same manner, gentlemen, the public is more sensible of the disappointment of its hopes, when it had a prospect of having them fulfilled, than of the loss of those, whose decline makes them despair of receiving any more, the same services as those which they performed in the prime of vigour and life.

FROM

FROM whom could we more reasonably conceive hopes than from a prince, whose minutest actions discovered an excellent character, and shewed what he would be one day capable of ! Alas ! we saw the seeds of talents and virtues increase and thrive in a field which promised rich harvests. The most knowing persons, those who know the world best, and those who having penetrated deepest into the heart of man, can conjecture from the temper and disposition, the actions that may be expected from him ; what did they not find in the character of this young prince ? A soul on which virtue was imprinted, a heart full of noble sentiments, a mind eager for instruction, a sublime genius, and a strong and premature reason. Shall I cite examples of what reason enabled him to do in so tender an age ? Recollect, gentlemen, those troublesome days, marked by so many calamities, in which all Europe, in a sort of delirium, conspired to subvert this monarchy ; when we could reckon the number of our enemies, and where we had the highest difficulty to perceive our friends. About this time, the prince of Prussia quitted Magdeburg, the bulwarks of which served as the last asylum to the household troops, when

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they

they accompanied the king in the campaign of 1762. Prince Henry, who had an ardent desire to enter the same career with the prince his brother, was sensible that his youth made him unable to bear the fatigues of war, and at the same time that the king, his uncle, would not expose to imminent danger the brightest hopes of the state. These reflections made him turn his mind entirely to study: he said he would render every moment of his time useful, which he could not consecrate to glory. His progress was answerable to his resolutions: he did not pursue his studies like those idle and vicious youths who, through fear of their masters, perform a task which they detest, to give themselves afterwards up to idleness or licentiousness, and that depravation of manners, of which they meet with too many examples in the world.

OUR prince, more enlightened, knew that he himself, like all other men, had received at birth only a capacity of being instructed; that it was necessary for him to learn what he did not know; and he filled the precious magazine of his memory with such knowledge as he might have occasion for in the course of his life. He was

convinced, that the lights acquired by study precede experience, and that a well judged theory conducts to an easy practice. Would you know what an extensive course of study he had embraced ? He had read all ancient and modern history : above all, he took care to impress upon his memory the characters of great men, the principal and most striking events, and whatever has most contributed to the rise or fall of empires ; this important study he had by habit rendered familiar to himself.

HE studied every branch of the military art, and consulted upon it persons of the greatest experience. Would you have still farther proof of his great desire of knowledge ? Know then, gentlemen, that after having gone through all the different systems of fortification, and not having made as great a progress in that study as he desired, he attended the lessons of colonel Ricaut for six months, without being advised to it by any body, and without the knowledge of his parents. Oh ! young man, what an example is this for the idle youth of our age, who must be forced to learn ? What might not be expected from such a promising disposition ? Do

you require still more striking proofs of his genius? Let us boldly proclaim the truth: let us declare before this illustrious auditory, what should be known at least by a great part of those that compose it. At eighteen years of age, the prince could explain the systems of Descartes, Leibnitz, Malbranche, and Locke: his memory had not only retained all those abstract topics, but he had discussed them with judgment. He was surprised, in examining the researches of those great men, to meet with fewer truths than ingenious hypotheses; and he at last began to think, with Aristotle, that doubt is the beginning of wisdom. That accurate judgment which regulated all his inquiries, had confined his geometrical studies to Euclid's elements; he said that he left speculative geometry to idle men, who had leisure to cultivate it for mere amusement. Can it appear credible to posterity, that this amiable prince, having scarce passed the threshold of the sanctuary of the sciences, should be superior to so many men, who grown old in study, load their memory without ever informing their reason? A happy genius can easily learn any thing; he resembles a Proteus, who without difficulty changes

changes his form, and always appears the object he represents. Our prince, who was born with this happy genius, did not neglect the military art, amongst his other pursuits : he seemed to be born to succeed in all he undertook. His emulation was chiefly discovered in those annual excursions in which he visited the provinces, attending the king in his retinue ; he knew all the army, and was known by it ; nothing escaped him, from the most minute details to the sublimest parts of that dangerous art ; his activity embraced every thing : at the same time he was always of an even temper, mild in his behaviour, of great address in his bodily exercises, persevering in his enterprizes, indefatigable in his labours, and always ready to prefer what was most useful and honourable.

So many great talents which nature had bestowed upon prince Henry, would not, however, furnish full matter for a panegyric, if the qualities of the mind, essential in all men, and especially in the great, did not conspire with them, and crown all.

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A MORE ample field now presents itself to my view, and displays before me a rich harvest of virtues. A child, at the age when the soul scarce begins to be formed, furnishes me with examples of various perfections. I shall advance nothing, gentlemen, without supporting it by proofs; and however great my affection was for this prince, it cannot blind me so far as to make me attempt to impose upon my auditors. But who will presume to contradict me if I affirm, that prince Henry, who was naturally all fire, knew how to temper his vivacity by wisdom. Those that were honoured with his intimacy know, that a man might open his whole soul to him, without there being any danger of his betraying the secrets entrusted to him. His heart was his best as well as his noblest part: mild to those about him, compassionate for the distressed, tender to the unfortunate, humane to all mankind; he seemed to share the grief of the afflicted, he dried the tears of the unhappy, he poured out his generosity to the indigent: nothing was so precious to him that he did not readily bestow it for the relief of those that were in want. I call you to witness,

ness, you unfortunate families which he assisted to the utmost of his power; you bashful poor, who always found in him a sure friend; you unhappy sufferers of all sorts, who lost in him a benefactor and father. These virtuous dispositions were so natural to him; and he had made so little effort to display them, that it was easy to see they flowed from a pure and inexhaustible source. Why did adverse fate so soon dry it up! Can I forget the few days that he passed with his regiment? Is there any amongst you, his officers, or you, his valiant soldiers, proud to serve under him; is there any of you that will contradict me, if I say, that you knew him only by his favours, and that this prince, young as he was, was at once a leader and a model to you?

You are sensible, gentlemen, that perfect disinterestedness is the source from which every virtue is derived: it is that which makes us prefer reputation to riches; the love of equity and justice to the cravings of avarice; the interest of the public and the state to our own and that of our family; the safety and preservation of our country to our own safety, our wealth, our health,

health, and even our lives ; which, in a word, raises man above himself, and renders him almost a denizen of heaven. These noble and generous sentiments might be discovered in all the actions of our prince. How ardently did he pray that the marriage of his brother, the prince of Prussia, might prove fruitful ! and though he could not but be sensible that the sterility of that union would bring him nearer to the throne, he discovered the most sincere joy upon the delivery of the princess his sister-in-law, regretting only that she had not been delivered of a prince. I could cite many other such examples, which would inspire you with love, and transport your souls with admiration ; permit me, however, gentlemen, to stop here, and not draw the veil which conceals from profane eyes the private affairs of the royal family. After all you have heard of prince Henry, who would not be apprehensive, that the great disposition men have to self-approbation, that complacency with which they set off their most trivial actions, would not have filled the heart of a young man with a vanity which is always odious, whatever reason there may be for it. How did so many talents and so many virtues expose him

to break upon the rock of self-love? Happily we had no reason to be under any apprehensions upon his account; his good sense saved him from the danger. I appeal to the court, to the city, the army, the provinces, and to yourselves, gentlemen: you know that his virtuous soul was the only one that was dissatisfied with itself. Not thinking the qualities he was possessed of sufficient, he had always a higher idea of those he hoped to acquire; this was the principle that excited his ardour to attain the knowledge which he wanted, that he might in every thing come as near perfection as it is possible for human frailty. But, though vanity appeared to him a ridiculous weakness, he was not insensible to the incentives of glory. What virtuous man ever despised it? It is the last passion of the wise man; even the most austere philosophers never were able to root it out. Let us own it frankly, gentlemen, the desire of establishing a reputation is the most powerful motive of the soul, the chief spring of human actions; it is the source and eternal principle that excites men to virtue, and that produces the actions by which they immortalise their names. Prince Henry did not chuse to owe his reputation to
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the base condescension of the vulgar, contemptible adorers of the idol of fortune, to which they offer incense through meanness of spirit, whether it has any merit or no; he desired a glory inherent in his person, and that envy could not render doubtful; no borrowed reputation, but a real name, supported by an unchangeable character.

WHAT did we not expect from so many admirable qualities accompanied with so much modesty? With what pleasure did we compose, by anticipation, the history of the life of this great prince? We saw him enter the world: the career of glory was opened before him: he appeared to set out in order to run a race of glory: his florid youth filled us with hope: we enjoyed all his merit before the time: but, alas! we were ignorant that a decree of fate was to deprive us of him so soon.

WRETCH that I am, should I renew your grief. Should I again open the spring of your tears? Is then my hand destined to plunge a dagger into your wounded hearts, which are still bleeding? It would be a vain attempt, gentlemen,

men, for me to endeavour to conceal from you our common loss ; alas ! it is but too real ! How weak is eloquence ! Can orators assuage so lively a grief ? Rather mingle your tears with the torrent of those shed by others. You know what happened ; prince Henry was suddenly attacked by a most dreadful disorder. This prince, who was a stranger to fear, had no apprehensions of the small-pox, notwithstanding the ravage it had made the year before, and the terror with which it fills almost every body. His humanity deserves your admiration : as soon as the physicians had told him what disorder he was attacked with, he forbid all his domestics who had not had the same disorder, to approach his person. One of his valet de chambres, who was in this case, did not dare to attend him : he said that he chose to run the risk alone, without exposing others to the same danger. One of the king's aid de camps, who had never had the small-pox, offered to sit up with him ; but the prince did not care to let him run the hazard : though afraid to expose the lives of those who attended him, he braved his own danger. This goodness of heart, this sublimity of sentiment, this generous way of thinking, this humanity,

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the greatest of all virtues, characterised him to the day of his death ; he suffered patiently, he beheld death with intrepidity, and met it like a hero. What a thunder-clap was this dreadful news for the royal family ! Alas ! we all had flattering hopes, we did our utmost to impose upon ourselves, we banished from our minds the melancholy ideas, the impression of which hurtled the delicacy of our sentiments. Men reduced by the narrow limits of their art to be only witnesses of diseases, amused us, and kept us in this deceitful security ; when all on a sudden a melancholy voice put an end to all our hopes, and plunged us in the deepest affliction. Do you remember, gentlemen, that unhappy day when fame, which divulges all things, suddenly pronounced, in every quarter, these melancholy words, “ Prince Henry is dead.” What consternation did this cause ! What sincere, but unavailing regret ! It was not a counterfeit grief, but the sincere regret of the public sensible of the greatness of their loss. Young people said, Why should he die from whom we had conceived such hopes ? The old said, He should have lived, and we have died. All thought they had lost in him a parent, a friend,
a model

a model of conduct, a benefactor. Marcellus snatched from the world in early youth, was less regretted : the death of Germanicus did not make the Romans shed such floods of tears ; and the loss of a young man became a public calamity.

O FATAL procession ! Where you marched, the streets were watered with tears ; and you arrived at the tomb amidst the groans, the sobs, the cries of the people ; marks of despair were to be seen on every side.

SUCH, gentlemen, is the prerogative of virtue, when it shines in its genuine lustre ; however men may be addicted to vice, they are constrained by their own interest to love and do it justice. The sincere suffrages of a whole nation ; the universal testimony of public esteem ; these praises of prince Henry after his death, which cannot be suspected of flattery ; do they not resemble those general acclamations in which the voice of God seems to make itself manifest by the voice of a whole people ? Let us not then measure the life of mankind by length of days, but estimate it by the use they have made of the
time

time of their existence. Amiable prince, your wisdom made you well aware of this truth! your course was limited; but your days were entirely filled up. You would not yourself regret the shortness of the time allotted you by nature, if you knew how much you were beloved, how many hearts were sincerely attached to you, and what confidence the public placed in your merit. What could a longer life procure you more! Alas! gentlemen, these melancholy reflexions, far from moderating our grief, aggravate it, by recalling to our memory the advantages of which we were formerly possessed, and which we have so suddenly been deprived of: one fatal instant obliges us for ever to give up the hopes of seeing so many brilliant virtues again promote the interest of our country. Unfortunate day, that deprived us of so delightful a hope! cruel disease, that put an end to so illustrious a life! relentless fate, which deprived the people of their darling! why did you spare our lives after having deprived him of his? But what am I saying? Why does my grief thus hurry me away? Gentlemen, let us suppress complaints as sinful as they are unavailing; let us respect the decrees of fate; let us remember that

that the condition of human nature subjects us to sufferings, that cowards sink under them, and that the brave support them with resolution. This amiable and beloved prince, if he could hear our sorrows, and the plaintive accents of so many lamenting voices, would disapprove of our impotent and unavailing grief : he would be inclined to think, that if, during the short time of his life, he could not serve us according to his virtuous intentions, we ought, at least, to derive some instruction from his death.

You brilliant youth, who live only to acquire glory, and who devote yourselves to arms, approach this tomb ; pay the last duty to this prince, who emulated you, and set you an example : contemplate all that remains of him, a ghastly corpse, ashes, bones, and dust, the common fate of all those who have been cut off by the scythe of death. But at the same time think of what hath survived him, and, what will never perish, the memory of his good qualities, the example set you by his life, and the image of his virtues. I think I see his dead corpse again animated, and he rising from the sepulchre in which his cold remains were deposited,

sited, and address you thus : “ Let your lives be ever so long, their duration is limited ; one day you will all quit your earthly frame : make a good use of your time : see with what rapidity my days are past ! If you would have your memory survive you, remember that nothing but illustrious actions and shining virtues can rescue your names from oblivion.”

And you valiant defenders of the state, whose incredible efforts supported it when attacked by all Europe : you ministers, who in your different departments make it your business to promote the felicity of the state, approach this tomb likewise. Let a youth, regretted on account of his talents and shining virtues, confirm you in the opinion which you have adopted, that neither dignities, vain ornaments, nor birth, however illustrious, can procure esteem to those who command nations ; but that their merit, their zeal, their labours, their attachment to their country, can alone make them acquire the suffrages of the public, of the wise, and of posterity. After having conducted you to this tomb, can I avoid approaching it myself ? O prince, who knew how dear you were to me, how precious

cious your person was to me ; if the voice of the living may be heard by the dead, listen to a voice which was well known to you : suffer me to erect this frail monument, the only one I can erect, to your memory : do not scorn the efforts of a soul that was attached to you ; who, saving what he can from the ruins of your wreck, endeavours to hang it up as a relic in the temple of Immortality. Why, alas ! should I be taught by you, that we ought to make a good use of the short time we have to live ? I, that am every day taught by age and infirmities, that the concluding scene of my life is at hand. Your excellent character will never be effaced from my memory ; the idea of your virtues will be ever present to my mind : you will live for ever in my heart, your name shall be mixed with all my discourse, and I will retain your remembrance till I breathe my last. I see the end of my life approach, and the moment in which, dear prince, the Greatest of all

sited, and address you thus : “ Let your lives be ever so long, their duration is limited ; one day you will all quit your earthly frame : make a good use of your time : see with what rapidity my days are past ! If you would have your memory survive you, remember that nothing but illustrious actions and shining virtues can rescue your names from oblivion.”

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beings will unite my ashes to yours for ever.
Death, gentlemen, is the end of all men : happy
are those who at that period have the consolation to know, that they deserve the tears of those who survive them !

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